KURT WEITZMANN

Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art

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By Kurt Weitzmann

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TO THE MEMORY

OF MY FATHER

PREFACE

EVER since his occupation with the ivory caskets of the Middle Byzantine period the author has continued to be fascinated by the problem of the survival of classical art in Byzantium. Soon after the publication in 1930 of these so-called rosette caskets in the first volume of the corpus of Byzantine ivories, he realized that this material was too limited and too sporadic to reveal the full scope of classical representations which were known to the Byzantines of the posticonoclastic period. Nor did the ivories seem to provide the clue to explain the appearance of classical themes in the art of the tenth century, the time when most of the caskets were manufactured. It became obvious that the key material for the solution of this problem was illustrated manuscripts, and this branch of art has been the center of our studies ever since.

Two manuscripts in particular, the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Jerusalem with their interesting illustrated commentary of Pseudo-Nonnus at the end, and the Cynegetica of Pseudo-Oppian in Venice with their numerous mythological miniatures interspersed among the hunting scenes, became the focus of our interest. It was hoped that they might lead to a clearer understanding of the relation between the classical representations in Byzantine art and their models of the Greco-Roman past. It soon became obvious that the illustrations of these two manuscripts are closely related to various scenes on the ivory caskets. Out of this realization grew the plan of the present study in which an attempt is made to prove the existence of illustrated mythographical texts already in classical antiquity and to show that they formed the common source for the Byzantine miniaturists and ivory carvers alike.

However, when the study was written eight or nine years ago, the author withheld its publication because he felt that the assumption of illustrated literary texts in classical antiquity was a challenging hypothesis which should first be discussed on a broader basis and documented not only by the two manuscript recensions involved in this study, but by other illustrated texts as well and also by whatever reflections exist of classical miniature painting in other media of ancient art. Thus, it was decided to write first another study dealing with the reconstruction of classical book illumination in general and with the principles on which it rests. This study has in the meantime been published under the title *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* as Number 2 of the present series. Here material of various kinds has been brought together as evidence that the illustration of literary texts started as early as the beginning of the Hellenistic period and immediately on a very vast scale. Against

this background the assumption of the existence of illustrated mythographical handbooks in the Roman period will, we hope, no longer appear as a startling novelty. In our opinion, they represent only one more category among other classical texts which were adorned with pictures and were in wide circulation in the ancient world.

Apart from these primary considerations other factors delayed the publication of the present study. Not until the end of the war could new photographs of the Gregory manuscript in Jerusalem be made. In 1946 Professor Carl H. Kraeling of Chicago University during a visit of the Near East was kind enough to make the necessary photographs in the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem. For this friendly service we wish to express to him our most cordial thanks. For the photos of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary in the Vatican, made before the war, we are greatly indebted to His Eminence, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, at that time still the prefect of the library, and for the photos of the Pseudo-Oppian we express our thanks to the late Luigi Ferrari, the always helpful director of the Marciana in Venice. Recently, new photographs were made of the Gregory miniatures in Paris for which our thanks are due to Jean Porcher, the new Conservateur du Département des Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The photographs of the Gregory manuscript in the Panteleimon monastery were made during our visits to Mount Athos in 1935 and 1936. With particular pleasure we recall the great cordiality and hospitality which we always experienced in the monasteries of the Holy Mountain. In the present case our thanks are due primarily to Pater Vasilij, the secretary, and to Pater Sophronios, the librarian of the Russian monastery.

The photographs of the ivories are from the collection begun by the late Adolph Goldschmidt and left in his will to the present writer. They are now deposited in the Art Department of Princeton University. We regret very much that, owing to the delay in the publication of this study, Adolph Goldschmidt, who had taken great interest in its preparatory state, was not able to see it in its final form. With the exception of figure 212, all ivory plaques are reproduced in original size. This was more or less the principle throughout Goldschmidt's corpus with the one exception of the rosette caskets, most of which surpass in size the format of the folio volumes. Thus, we hope to have corrected this shortcoming to some extent and given a more adequate impression of the artistic quality of these, in parts, very charming ivory reliefs.

Last but not least, the writer wishes to express his thanks to his colleagues in the Department, especially to Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., for their continued interest and support in the pursuing of manuscript studies, to Datus

Smith, director of Princeton University Press, to Miss Margot Cutter, who went over the manuscript with great care, and to the other members of his staff who have given the same great care and consideration to the printing of this volume as to the preceding ones in the same series.

KURT WEITZMANN

Princeton, New Jersey
June 1949

PREFACE TO THE SECOND PRINTING

THIS book, which appeared more than thirty years ago, has as its main subject the survival of representations of classical myths in Byzantine manuscripts and also ivories. The handbook which goes under the name of Apollodorus plays a key role, and I had tried to prove that the postulated miniatures of this text had migrated into other texts of which the commentary of Pseudo-Nonnus, attached to several homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian are the most important. I see no need to change or modify these concepts. My sole task in this second preface is to demonstrate that the basic idea has taken root and that I myself and other authors have added not only new pictorial material, but found additional texts which we presume to have been illustrated in classical antiquity as visualized by migrated miniatures or ivories of the Byzantine period.

A basic study of illustrated Gregory manuscripts by George Galavaris (*The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Princeton 1969) has provided the evidence that not only the illustrations of the commentary of Pseudo-Nonnus were based on a classical source, i.e. the handbook of Apollodorus, but that other text passages with illustrations likewise had a classical root. The homily on New Sunday (*ibid.*, 149ff.) contains in three manuscripts a series of charming bucolic scenes, very classical in character, which could in part be interpreted by the romance of *Daphnis and Chloe.* The closest contact Galavaris found, however, is the ekphrasis on the spring by the sophist Libanius and on the basis of these Gregory miniatures he could postulate the existence of a lost illustrated Libanius.

Furthermore, the Pseudo-Nonnus text in the Jerusalem codex Taphou 14 and in the Vatican codex gr. 1947 contains a series of oracle pictures which in their compositional layout are Byzantine inventions (*Myth.*, figs. 70-81), but in their details show clearly the impact of classical models. Now the former manuscript includes among the homilies of Gregory one on the Birth of Christ which is attributed to a certain John of Euboea. It is prolifically illustrated and includes a series of miniatures of oracles which, according to the text, were consulted by the Magi on their way to Bethlehem (Weitzmann, "Representations of Hellenistic Oracles in Byzantine Manuscripts," *Mélanges Mansel*, Ankara 1974, pp. 394ff. and pls. 126-127). These oracle pictures are painted by the same artist and conceived in the same spirit as those in the Pseudo-Nonnus text. Moreover there exists still another copy of the Birth homily in the codex Athos, Esphigmenu 14 where its text is integrated in a

menologion, and here the oracle pictures are even more numerous and partly richer in classical elements (*ibid.*, pls. 123-126).

Also the Pseudo-Oppian illustrations are more complex than I had anticipated by separating the added mythological scenes from the scientific pictures of the hunt, assuming that the latter were all made up from the Pseudo-Oppian text. However, Joannes Spatharakis ("Observations in a Few Illustrations in Pseudo-Oppian's Cynegetica ms. in Venice," *Thesaurismata* 17, 1980, pp. 22ff.) has argued with good reason that some of the hunting scenes are better explained by the *Cynegetica* of Xenophon and that this text might already have been illustrated and adapted by Pseudo-Oppian.

In our discussion of the ivories we proposed for the wealth of Dionysiac figure types and scenes an illustrated *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis, a fifth-century poet, as a probable source (*Myth.*, p. 179). This idea has been strongly reinforced in an inspiring study by Erika Simon ("Nonnus und das Elfenbeinkästchen aus Veroli," *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* 79, 1964, pp. 279ff.). But in her attempt to interpret every single figure or groups of figures of this most sumptuous of all the ivory caskets out of the *Dionysiaca,* she went too far when she tried to include even scenes which surely are based on Old Testament illustrations, foremost the illustrated Joshua rotulus of the Vatican Library. The great merit of her study is the firm establishment of an illustrated *Dionysiaca* as the source of Byzantine artists of the tenth century, since this indicates that not only texts of the imperial period like Apollodorus and Pseudo-Oppian had been used in the period of the Macedonian Renaissance but that classical book illumination has an uninterrupted tradition until at least the fifth century, if not until the sixth or even seventh. The Milan Iliad from approximately the late fifth century is the best witness for this continuation, suggesting the availability of also late antique models in the Middle Byzantine period.

Ever since I wrote *Greek Mythography in Byzantine Art* I continued my studies of this subject and added new observations. After having postulated for the great number of Heracles figures and scenes an illustrated classical text (*Myth.*, pp. 157ff.), it was good fortune that only a few years later an illustrated papyrus of the third century with a Heracles poem was discovered which includes scenes from the lion fight (Weitzmann in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXII, 1954, pp. 85-87).

Considering the great popularity which the mythological handbook of Apollodorus enjoyed in the Middle Byzantine period, it hardly comes as a surprise that its impact can be traced in texts other than Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian. There is in the *Theriaka* of Nicander, best preserved in the

tenth-century manuscript in Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl. gr. 247, a representation obviously derived from a Gigantomachy which shows the legs of the giants turned into serpents, a scene best explained by Apollodorus (Weitzmann, "Das Klassische Erbe in der Kunst Konstantinopels," *Alte und Neue Kunst* III, 1954, pp. 14f. and figs. 15-16).

Photius in his *Myriobiblon* had made excerpts of still another mythological handbook in addition to that of Apollodorus, namely that of Conon which likewise belongs to the Roman imperial period. A miniature in the same above-mentioned Nicander manuscript in Paris can best be explained by the Conon text, namely the killing of Canopus, the pilot of Menelaus, by a serpent, and thus we assume a lost illustrated Conon which was still available in the time of Photius, the ninth-century patriarch (Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Martin Class. Lectures, Cambridge, Mass. XVI, 1959, pp. 28ff. and pl. L, 106).

In this study an attempt was made to deal, though only in a sketchy manner, with ancient book illumination at large, including both scientific and literary texts. A general impression one gets from this study is the easy migration of miniatures from one text into another. There is, for example, the story of the jealous rival bulls which in the Pseudo-Oppian is illustrated in a picture so similar to one in Virgil's *Eclogues* in the well known Vatican Virgil, cod. lat. 3225, that a common archetype must be assumed which, we believe, must have been Aelian's *De Natura Animalium*. From a classical text this miniature migrated even into a biblical text, namely, the *Book of Job*, as witnessed by a miniature in an eleventh-century manuscript at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, p. 28 and figs. 34-36). Moreover, more recently I found out that postulated illustrations of Aelian's treatise must have been known and were even quite popular in Byzantine book illumination, as could be demonstrated by a whole series of animal pictures in the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 923. Here they accompany passages of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, by which text, however, the pictures cannot be sufficiently explained, so that an older source must be assumed (Weitzmann, *The Sacra Parallela*, Princeton 1979, pp. 205-209, 211, 218, 261 and figs. 546-548, 551-555).

That the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts, both products of the Macedonian Renaissance, hark back to Apollodorus and other classical texts of the Roman imperial period should not obscure the fact that the illustration of mythological texts had continued throughout the Early Byzantine period, i.e. from the fourth to seventh century (Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine

Art and its Impact on Christian Iconography," *D. O. P.* 14, 1960, pp. 45ff.). In those centuries, not only the *Iliad*, as proved by the Milan fragments, but also other epic poems like the *Little Iliad* of Lesches was still copied and its postulated miniatures were used as models, as attested by a silver plate in Leningrad from the sixth to seventh century with a representation of the Awarding of the Weapons of Achilles (*ibid.*, p. 47 and fig. 2). Likewise an illustrated Euripides must still have been known as witnessed by a silver plate of the sixth century in Dumbarton Oaks (*ibid.*, pp. 53f. and fig. 14) which illustrates Hippolytus and Phaedra. Furthermore, a scene from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* may be seen on a Coptic textile attributed to the sixth to seventh century (Weitzmann, "Eine Darstellung der Euripideischen Iphigenie auf einem Koptischen Stoff," *Antike Kunst* 7, 1964, pp. 42ff.). A more thorough investigation of Coptic textiles may well be a fertile ground for the tracing of lost illustrated, chiefly Dionysiac and bucolic texts such as the previously mentioned *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus. This seems only natural since Alexandria was the place where, after all, book illumination was invented.

The above-cited "Survival" article has still another dimension with regard to the spread of mythological subject matter in Byzantine art, namely its impact on Old and New Testament illustration. A miniature from an eleventh-century Octateuch in the Vatican with Samson strangling the lion is obviously derived from the parallel action of Heracles (*ibid.*, p. 57 and figs. 25-26) and the Sacrifice of Isaac on a fifth-century ivory pyxis in Trier can best be explained by a representation from *The Telephus* of Euripides, depicting Telephus about to sacrifice the boy Orestes (*ibid.*, pp. 58f. and figs. 27-28). In this process of transformation of mythological scenes into Christian ones also the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary seems to have played a role. When we proposed that the representation of the Bewailing of Christ, so common in Byzantine art, was inspired by a scene of the Bewailing of the dead Actaeon by his mother Autonoë (Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," *De Artibus Opuscula* XL, Essays in honor of E. Panofsky, 1961, pp. 476ff. and figs. 16-17), Pseudo-Nonnus seems, indeed, to have been the most likely source.

The search for lost illustrated mythological texts as evidenced by reflections in other media, has been taken up by other scholars as well. A study by Carina Calvi—to cite only an especially stimulating one—on a sixth-century silver plate from Castelvint, now in the Archaeological Museum in Venice, ("Il piatto d'argento di Castelvint," *Aquileia Nostra* L, 1979, pp. 354ff., esp. pp. 371, 379), which represents Athena being surprised by Teiresias, explains convincingly, I believe, that the source was an illustrated hymn of

Callimachus. This kind of text, along with other mythological and bucolic texts of Alexandrian origin must, indeed, have been inviting to an illustrator.

Whatever the outcome of further studies along these lines will be, the nucleus of the transmission of mythological subject matter in the Middle Ages was obviously a handbook like that of Apollodorus and perhaps also that of Conon. Now it has recently been demonstrated by Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler that also the Latin West showed in the Middle Ages, especially in the twelfth century, an intense interest in classical mythology as witnessed by widely spread engraved bronze bowls (*Romanische Gravierte Bronzeschalen*, Berlin 1981). In this century subjects like Pyramus and Thisbe, Myrrha, Scylla and others, suddenly had become quite popular. These engraved scenes on the bowls, as she argued with good reason, are, like the Byzantine counterparts, rooted in illustrated texts of mythological handbooks (*ibid.*, pp. 29f.). Yet the difference is that in the Latin West the pictorial tradition from classical times is more or less confined to figures based on pictures of constellations which were very popular in the West since the Carolingian period and often preserved the classical forms extremely well. But outside of this realm most mythological subjects on the bronze bowls are creations in the spirit of romanesque art. Even in a case where the model was not a mythological handbook but a straight classical text like the *Achilleis* of Statius that formed the basis for a cycle of Achilles scenes on a bowl in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, the style is thoroughly romanesque. In the light of these comparisons, the amount of the pictorial survival from the classical tradition in Byzantine art is all the more remarkable.

KURT WEITZMANN

Princeton, New Jersey
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CONTENTS

GREEK MYTHOLOGY IN BYZANTINE ART

INTRODUCTION

THE illustrations of the commentaries to some of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, written by a certain Nonnus, generally called Pseudo-Nonnus, the mythological miniatures of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian in the Venetian manuscript, and a considerable number of ivory plaques of the so-called rosette caskets constitute the main material on which the present study is based. It must be made clear right at the outset that it has not been our intention to collect all available evidence which has a bearing on the problem of the survival of classical representations in the Middle Byzantine period. We have limited our investigation to the above-mentioned monuments because they form, as far as can be judged from the present state of scholarship in that field, the largest and most coherent groups available for the demonstration of our problem.

For the investigation of the survival of classical art in the Middle Ages no locality seems more suitable than the city of Constantinople. It was a city with a native Greek population as nucleus, with walls which withstood all barbarian invasions for nearly a thousand years after its foundation, and with an imperial court and at times very learned emperors who were willing not only to tolerate but actively to sponsor the pursuit of classical learning, literature, and art. In such a surrounding Greek tradition could continue and artistic monuments with classical subject matter be produced for centuries after the great Constantine had accepted Christianity as the religion of the state. Particularly in the court atmosphere there seems to have been no conflict between a pagan and a Christian art production. Much of the evidence to prove this contention has become known only fairly recently.

A few years ago the excavations of the University of St. Andrews brought to light a magnificent floor mosaic, which the excavators have dated in the first half of the fifth century, with purely pagan subjects illustrating hunting scenes, country life, fighting animals and the like.[1] In quality it outranks any mosaic of that period found in the Eastern Mediterranean in such places as Antioch-on-the-Orontes and the like. Equally revealing are the numerous silver plates with classical subjects found in the soil of South Russia and completely published by Matzulewitch.[2] Several of them are dated by their stamps as late as the sixth and the seventh centuries, and it is very probable indeed that most of them were manufactured in the capital.

Yet in the course of the Early Byzantine period artistic energies in general

[1] G. Brett, "The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople," *Jour. Warburg Inst.*, v, 1942, pp. 34ff. and pls. 6-16.—*The Illustrated London News*, May 24, 1947, pp. 538-539.—G. Brett, W. J. Macauly, and R. B. K. Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, Oxford 1947.

[2] L. Matzulewitch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen, vol. II), Berlin 1929.

had increasingly been focussed on Christian subject matter in conformity with the literary trend of that period which had centered more and more on patristic writings while classical authors were gradually neglected. Not before the end of the iconoclastic period did the Byzantines make a determined effort to revive the interest in the classics and to develop philology in the modern sense of the word. Bardas University, where Cometas taught the criticism of Homer, was founded in the second half of the ninth century and in the tenth century Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus supervised the great enterprise of copying and excerpting classical texts for voluminous encyclopedias. It is in this period that the miniatures and ivories with mythological scenes begin to appear and it will be one of our aims to show how the artistic movement is related to the literary revival movement.

The classical heritage has left its traces in mediaeval art in many different ways.[3] A Byzantine artist—and this applies equally to his colleagues in the Latin West—may simply be inspired by a classical text and render a certain passage in the pictorial form and the style of his own time without trying to copy a classical model or imitate classical forms. Both miniature cycles with which we are concerned possess instances of this kind: in the Pseudo-Nonnus manuscript there are, as will be shown later in detail, representations of cults (figs. 74-78) for which no parallels exist in ancient art, and the same is true for the miniatures of the childhood of Dionysus (figs. 164-165) and several others in Pseudo-Oppian's Cynegetica.

Secondly, there is the survival of mere formal elements of ancient art. Features like the outlines of figures, draperies with patterned folds and high lights, the treatment of facial peculiarities, landscape elements and other details were handed down from classical antiquity as workshop devices, and Byzantine artists were able to apply them wherever it seemed suitable to them. From this point of view, all Byzantine art—and much more so than the art of the Latin West which in general tended toward greater abstraction—shows a deep imprint of classical forms which had at no time ceased completely to be the source of inspiration. This applies to Christian as well as pagan subject matter and there is between them no major difference in the use of artistic devices derived from classical art.

The third kind of classical reception is the insertion of classical figure types, personifications and the like, into Christian scenes. Such intrusions point to a greater awareness on the part of the artist of the value of the classi-

[3] A. Goldschmidt, *Das Nachleben der antiken Formen im Mittelalter* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921-22), Berlin 1923, pp. 40ff.—E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art, *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1932, pp. 228ff.—J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (Studies of the Warburg Institute VII), London 1939—R. H. L. Hamann-MacLean, "Antikenstudium in der Kunst des Mittelalters," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV, 1949-50, pp. 157ff. (here an extensive bibliography on this subject).

cal heritage. They show his conviction that the latter can be harmonized with the Christian tradition and that both can be amalgamated into a unified style. This process began as soon as works of art with a Christian content were produced, and is reflected in the river personifications of the Vienna Genesis and other monuments of the Early Christian period. In the Middle Byzantine period this infusion of classical figures took place on an increasing scale.

The fourth kind of transmission, the one which is the most important for our present investigation, concerns the copying of a whole scene or even a series of scenes without changing their original composition and meaning, while preserving essential features of the classical style as well. Such representations, in which context and style were at no time completely disassociated, are comparatively infrequent in Byzantine as well as in Latin mediaeval art. But those few we do possess are of particular value because it is primarily through them that we can determine with various degrees of precision the actual classical models which must have been known, appreciated, and considered to be of sufficient interest to be copied by mediaeval artists. That these models were mainly, or nearly exclusively, illustrated manuscripts will become apparent in the course of our investigation.

Miniatures offer the advantage as objects of study that the text with which they are associated often permits us to control the copyist's understanding of his model from the point of view of iconographical accuracy. In ivories and other media such a controlling factor is lacking and we can seldom be quite sure whether the mediaeval artist copied his classical model for merely formal reasons or whether he was still aware of its meaning.

The emphasis of our study is not so much on style, which usually is the traditional one of the scriptorium or workshop and not distinguished from contemporary miniatures and ivories with a Christian content, but on iconography. One of the chief aims will be to investigate whether or not the Byzantine artists still understood their models and had the capacity to maintain, in the process of copying, their intelligibility. In other words we shall have to answer the question not only whether in the tenth and eleventh centuries, to which the monuments under consideration belong, the myths of the ancient Greeks were read, but also whether their illustrations were still understood in their original meaning.

I. PSEUDO-NONNUS

A. THE DOCUMENTS

TO FOUR of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus a commentary was written which has come down to us under the title Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Γρηγόριος. This piece of writing is quite unique among the patristic commentaries since it does not deal with a theological interpretation of the homilies of Gregory, but takes up only the allusions to subjects of classical antiquity and describes each of them in a short paragraph or ἱστορία.

This collection of "historiae" must have been quite popular since it was often used and parts of it were directly copied by later commentators of Gregory like Cosmas of Jerusalem, Basilius Minimus, Elias of Crete, and Nicetas of Heraclea. All of them refer to the collection merely as "historiae" and none of the writers just mentioned associates them with an author's name, although the attribution of the historiae to a certain abbot Nonnus is found already in a tenth century manuscript. The name Nonnus appears for the first time in the codex London, British Museum add. 18231 from the year 972 where the title reads Τοῦ ἀββᾶ Νόννου συναγωγή, etc.[1] Patzig, in the first basic study on the Nonnus commentary,[2] and all scholars after him have agreed that this name is later conjecture, and that we actually do not know the real author. In Sinko's instructive article[3] he was called therefore Pseudo-Nonnus, thus distinguished from Nonnus of Panopolis, the author of the *Dionysiaca*. Patzig assumed that the historiae originated in the beginning of the sixth century, and Sinko added new arguments in support of this date which to our knowledge has not been contradicted. It has been supposed that the anonymous author lived in Syria or Palestine because several geographical descriptions seem to indicate an acquaintance with those regions, although this admittedly is a rather tenuous argument.

Some manuscripts contain the historiae in the margins of the four homilies which are full of allusions to classical mythology, namely the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*, the *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii Magni* and the two *Invectivae adversus Julianum*.[4] This seems to have been the original arrange-

[1] Pal. Soc., vol. I, 1873-78, pl. 25; ser. II, vol. I, 1884-94, pl. 28.—K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, fasc. II, Boston 1934, pls. 118-120 and 136.

[2] E. Patzig, *De Nonnianis in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentariis* (Jahresbericht der Thomasschule in Leipzig), Leipzig 1890.

[3] Thad. Sinko, "De expositione Pseudo-Nonniana historiarum, quae in orationibus Gregorii Nazianzeni commemorantur." *Charisteria Casimiro de Morawski*, Cracow 1922, pp. 124ff.—O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 1923, p. 178.

[4] Migne, *P.G.*, vols. 35 and 36, where these four homilies have the numbers XXXIX, XLIII, IV and V.

ment in conformity with the usual practice, in writing commentaries, of associating the historiae as closely as possible with the text proper.[5] But some time later, we do not know exactly when, they began to be placed at the very end of all the homilies as an independent body of writing. The famous Gregory codex in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 510, has on the margins reference numbers to the paragraphs of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary, but the text of the latter, which supposedly existed at the end of the whole book, is not preserved.[6]

Usually the commentaries follow in the same order as the corresponding homilies, i.e. they begin with the historiae to the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*, followed by those to the *Oratio funebris*, and finally those to the two *Invectivae*. Occasionally, however, there are deviations in the sequence. In some cases the second part precedes the first and in others the historiae to the two *Invectivae* are placed between those of the two other homilies. Moreover, not all manuscripts possess the historiae to all four homilies: some contain those to three, others to two, and there are even manuscripts which have the historiae to one homily only. The number of paragraphs within each commentary is similarly variable.

So far, no critical or even complete text edition of these historiae has been made. Migne gives only a selection,[7] particularly in the commentaries to the homilies *In Sancta Lumina* and *Funebris in laudem Basilii*, the only ones which, as we shall see later, are preserved with miniatures. Some of the paragraphs missing in Migne may be found in the appendix of Westermann's publication of the mythographical writers,[8] where the paragraphs are arranged not according to the Pseudo-Nonnus text but alphabetically. The text of some more paragraphs is embodied in the writings of Cosmas of Jerusalem, who copied Pseudo-Nonnus.[9]

A fuller text of the commentaries to all four homilies has been available to us in an eleventh century Gregory manuscript which a few years ago was acquired by the Art Museum of Princeton University and numbered codex 2 (fig. 1).[10] Wherever this text has a fuller reading which helps to explain additional features in the miniatures, we have made use of it. From this

[5] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text-Illustration* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, no. 2), Princeton 1947, pp. 119ff. (henceforth cited: *Roll and Codex*).

[6] The last part of the manuscript, the *Vita S. Gregorii Nazianzeni* by Gregory the Presbyter, is incomplete at the end.

[7] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 985ff.

[8] Ant. Westermann, Μυθόγραφοι, Brunswick 1843, pp. 359ff. (appendix narrationum).

[9] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 619 *passim*.

[10] K. Weitzmann, "A Codex with the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus," *Record of the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1942, pp. 14ff.

Princeton manuscript we have also adopted the numbering of the paragraphs, and assuming that originally each paragraph of the two commentaries under consideration had an illustration, we have included in our study also those to which no miniatures exist in the presently known manuscripts. Moreover, some of the seemingly lost miniatures have survived in other texts whose illustrators used either a Pseudo-Nonnus or a similar text as model. In other instances we have had to be content with mere suggestions as to what the lost miniatures may have looked like.

The Princeton manuscript can be dated in the beginning of the eleventh century on the basis of its palaeography and the style of its decorative headpieces, which show an early form of the typical mid-Byzantine flower-petal style (fig. 1),[11] and, to judge from the brilliant technique of this ornament, Constantinople is the most likely place of origin. The title in the Princeton manuscript, which bears no author's name, is the usual one: *Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις γρηγόριος*. It heads the commentary to the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*, which consists of twenty-five paragraphs. Then follow the commentaries to the *I. Invectiva contra Julianum* (fol. 194r)[12] with ninety-eight paragraphs, those to the *II. Invectiva* (fol. 214r) with thirty-seven paragraphs, and finally to the *Funebris in laudem Basilii* (fol. 223r) with twenty paragraphs.

We possess two manuscripts with illustrations to Pseudo-Nonnus, and in both of them the text is, as in the Princeton manuscript, at the very end of the codex, following a selection of sixteen homilies. This selection from the full series of forty-five homilies was much in favor from the eleventh century on and existed perhaps already in the tenth. After this time the number of homilies in all illustrated Gregory manuscripts is, to our knowledge, thus restricted. They are always the same, though the sequence varies considerably. In this abbreviated edition are included the *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii* and the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*, but not the two *Invectivae contra Julianum*. Accordingly the Pseudo-Nonnus text was often, though not always, abbreviated too, containing only those collections of historiae that are related to the homilies in the shortened edition.

One may, therefore, be tempted to conclude from the fact that we have pictures only to the commentaries of the *Oratio funebris* and the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina* that their illustrations were invented after the shortened edition of Gregory's homilies which excluded the *Invectivae* was established. Yet, there is at least some indication that the commentaries to the two *Invec-*

[11] De Ricci's date in the thirteenth century is apparently too late. S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the U.S. and Canada*, I, 1935, p. 693 (at that time the manuscript was in the possession of Dr. L. F. Gruber, Maywood, Ill.).

[12] Weitzmann, *loc. cit.*, fig. 1.

tivae may also have existed with illustrations. In a miniature of the Birth of Athena which is attached to a paragraph in the commentary to the homily *In Sancta Lumina* (p. 50 and fig. 59) there are elements which can only be explained by the fuller text in the commentary to the *Invectivae*. This suggests that also the latter once existed with a cycle of illustrations and that the miniature with the Birth of Athena was part of it.

The first of the two manuscripts with illustrations to the Pseudo-Nonnus is the codex Τάφου 14 in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, which on the basis of the style of its miniatures can be dated in about the second half of the eleventh century.[13] This manuscript consists of three different parts: (1) the abbreviated edition of the homilies of Gregory; (2) a homily of the Birth of Christ ascribed in some manuscripts to John of Damascus, but by most scholars now given to John of Euboea,[14] and inserted between the eighth and ninth homily of Gregory; and (3) the commentary to Pseudo-Nonnus. All three parts are richly illustrated. Following the full-page author portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus, each homily is preceded by a miniature extending over both writing columns, and a few homilies have additional pictures in the margins. Especially copious is the illustration of the homily of the Birth of Christ, which alone has about fifty miniatures, and also that of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary, the miniatures of which extend over the whole width of the text, which in this part of the book is written in a single column.

The second manuscript is in the Vatican, cod. gr. 1947.[15] It likewise contains the sixteen homilies of the shortened edition, though in a slightly different sequence, and once more the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary at the very end. The decoration of Gregory's homilies is much simpler than in the Jerusalem manuscript, consisting of small headpieces which extend only over the width of one of the two narrow writing columns. Comparatively richer is the illustration of the Pseudo-Nonnus text, which is written in one wide column, thus permitting the miniaturist to make use of the full width of the page. There are several lacunae where space is provided for miniatures which were never executed. In two such cases, on folio 150^r, the empty space was filled at a later time with crude drawings of horses which have nothing to do with the text. The miniatures are in a most deplorable condition since most of the color is flaked off, and sometimes to such an extent that it is difficult to make out the details or even the composition as a whole. Often only

[13] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, I, 1891, p. 45 and pls. 2-3.—Н. П. Кондаковъ, Археологическое Путешествiе по Сирiи и Палестинѣ, 1904, p. 281.—G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III, Paris 1905, pp. 32, 33, 37, 117, 125.—Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, II, 1926, p. 626 and figs. 300-303.—W. H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem*, 1931, p. 58 and pls. I-XVIII.

[14] O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. V, 1932, p. 142.

[15] Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 126, note 1.

the comparison with the better-preserved manuscript in Jerusalem permits an identification of the faint traces visible today, while in other cases, where the analogous miniatures in the latter are lacking, certain features of the Vatican miniatures remain inexplicable. Nevertheless, in one point the Vatican manuscript is more valuable than the Jerusalem one: it has a fuller text and each paragraph has its own title and a system of numbering which agrees with that of the Princeton manuscript. The Vatican text starts with the historiae to the *Oratio funebris*, followed by those to the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*. The text of the Jerusalem manuscript does not have this clear distinction: here titles and numbers are lacking and some of the paragraphs are misplaced so that, e.g., the story of Mausolus, which belongs to the commentary of the *Oratio funebris*, is now placed among the paragraphs of the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*. The style of the Vatican miniatures, as far as it can be judged at all, points to the eleventh or may be already to the twelfth century.

The Pseudo-Nonnus of Jerusalem has today ten illustrated paragraphs to the *Oratio funebris* and seven to the *Oratio in Sancta Lumina*, others being lost by the cutting-out of a few pages, whereas the Vatican manuscript has now eight miniatures to the former and fourteen to the latter, not counting the empty spaces reserved for miniatures which must have existed in the model but, for unknown reasons, were not executed. Yet, even the miniature cycles of both manuscripts combined do not constitute the full cycle since on occasion the same pictures are missing in both manuscripts. However, for several of the missing miniatures not only can the subject matter be determined on the basis of the text, but even their compositional schemes can be suggested on the basis of parallels in other manuscripts.

Moreover, with the manuscripts in Jerusalem and in the Vatican our knowledge of Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures is not exhausted. There are two manuscripts, again of the shortened edition of the homilies of Gregory, which have Pseudo-Nonnus pictures in the Gregory text proper, though only to the homily *In Sancta Lumina*. These miniatures are placed right in the text of the homilies, close to the passages to which they are related. But since they can not fully be explained on the basis of Gregory's brief mythological allusions and on the other hand agree iconographically with those of the two Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts, there can be no doubt that originally they belonged to the Pseudo-Nonnus text and migrated from there into the Gregory text.[16] Compared with the miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus texts which in most cases occupy the whole width of the page, most of them are very abbreviated because only limited space was allotted to them by the scribe.

[16] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 146ff.

One of the two Gregory manuscripts is the codex 6 of the Panteleimon monastery on Mount Athos.[17] The text is written in one column and each of the usual sixteen homilies is headed by a large miniature with a decorative frame in typical flower-petal style. Besides these title miniatures there are many small ones, interspersed in the text, two groups of which are especially noteworthy artistically and iconographically: the pastoral scenes which accompany the homily *In Novam Dominicam* (no. II in the Panteleimon ms.) and the Pseudo-Nonnus scenes alongside the homily *In Sancta Lumina* (no. X in the Panteleimon ms.). These latter miniatures are all framed, and wherever two are superimposed, they fill the height of the whole page. The Panteleimon manuscript is of remarkable quality and was in all likelihood executed in Constantinople itself in the eleventh century.

The second Gregory manuscript is the codex Paris Coislin 239, which stylistically may be a little later than Panteleimon 6 but probably belongs still in the end of the eleventh century.[18] The illustration of the sixteen homilies is somewhat similar to that in Panteleimon 6, but with the difference that the introductory miniatures to each homily are smaller and extend only over one of the two columns. Many of the figures or smaller scenes are placed either in the margin or between the columns, while others, like those taken over from the Pseudo-Nonnus, are framed and intercalated in the writing columns.

As a cycle the set of Pseudo-Nonnus pictures in the Panteleimon and Paris manuscripts is once more fragmentary: the former possess eleven mythological scenes and the latter ten, though these are partly not the same. The special value of these two Gregory codices lies in the fact that each of them has a few scenes which are unparalleled either in the Jerusalem or the Vatican codex, thus increasing the total number of illustrated paragraphs. All four manuscripts together still do not give us a complete set of miniatures: we know what the illustrations were for only thirty of the forty-five paragraphs of the commentary to the two homilies under consideration. Yet, since the homilies of Gregory are one of the most frequently illustrated texts of

[17] H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Althos-Klöstern*, 1891, p. 194.—G. Schlumberger, *Epopée*, I, 1896, p. 497.—Sp. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Mss. on Mount Athos*, II, 1900, p. 282.—Н. П. Кондаковъ, Памятники Христіанскаго Искусства на Аѳонѣ, 1902, p. 295.—Н. В. Покровскій, Очерки Памятниковъ Христіанскаго Искусства и Иконографіи, 1910, p. 168, figs. 123-125.—G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, 1916, p. 176 and fig. 133.—Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin*, vol. II, 1926, p. 628 and figs. 304-305.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 146ff., 199 and figs. 135-136.

[18] Bordier, *Description des peintures dans les mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1883, p. 205 and figs. 97-106.—H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2nd ed. 1929, p. 54 and pls. CXVI-CXVIII.—Panofsky and Saxl, *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1933, p. 248, note 26 and fig. 3.—H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, 1938, p. 15 and pl. XVI, no. 24.—R. Devreesse, *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II, *Le Fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945, p. 219.

the Middle Byzantine period, and since no comprehensive study of their miniatures has been made so far, there is a good chance that one or the other of the preserved manuscripts may possess mythological illustrations either to the added Pseudo-Nonnus commentary or the homilies themselves.

B. THE MINIATURES OF THE HOMILY *FUNEBRIS IN LAUDEM BASILII MAGNI*

The description of the mythological miniatures follows the order of the paragraphs of the Pseudo-Nonnus text, which on its part maintains the same sequence as the various allusions to mythological subjects in Gregory's homily. The numbering of the paragraphs differs slightly in the various manuscripts, since some of them either drop an item on occasion or conflate two or even more separate paragraphs of related subjects into one. Our numeration follows that of the Princeton and the Vatican manuscripts.

1. The Pelopidae, Cecropidae, Alcmaeonidae, Aeacidae, and Heraclidae

Gregory[1] castigates the Pelopidae, Cecropidae, Alcmaeonidae, Aeacidae, and Heraclidae because they have no knowledge of the sublime and take refuge in obscurity and demons. To each of these five families Pseudo-Nonnus devotes a passage, but only for the first is a miniature preserved, representing the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus. Pseudo-Nonnus tells the story very simply: ". . . Pelops came to Greece into a country called Apia. In this country Apia ruled King Oenomaus who had a daughter by the name of Hippodamia. Pelops, after having contended with Oenomaus in a chariot race, from which he emerged as victor, took the daughter Hippodamia as his wife and gained possession of the country; instead of Apia he called it Peloponnese, i.e. the island of Pelops. . . ."[2] It will be noticed that no details are given about the chariot race proper.

It is typical that in both the Jerusalem and the Vatican manuscripts the pictures do not precede but follow the text. In the former the text starts on folio 307ʳ with the paragraph on the Pelopidae, being followed by the miniature on the top of the following page (fig. 2). It represents Pelops standing on a chariot the horses of which are dashing off, while the horses of Oenomaus' quadriga are breaking down, thus signifying that the king is the loser of the contest. The miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 3) is similarly composed and, no doubt, goes back to the same archetype. In addition, it is framed on either side by a meta, a feature which does not make much sense in view of the literary tradition that the race took place between

[1] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 497ff.

[2] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 1057ff, § α-ε.

Pisa in Elis and the Isthmus. Yet, this contest had already been represented in classical antiquity as a circus race on a child's sarcophagus in the Vatican (fig. 4).[3] This is a clear indication that the miniature has pictorially a classical ancestry going back at least as early as the Roman period.

Among the Roman sarcophagi there is a whole group which depicts the Pelops and Oenomaus story in a narrative fashion.[4] In a number of details the miniatures agree especially with Robert's third group of sarcophagi, the so-called Roman city group,[5] so much so that the similarities can hardly be explained as a coincidence. It may be noticed that in a sarcophagus in the Louvre (fig. 5)[6] Pelops does not hold the reins in his hands in the fashion of a charioteer, but has fastened them around his hips; he looks back at his defeated adversary and stretches out his right arm, holding a whip which, however, is mostly broken away; and furthermore one horse of Oenomaus' quadriga turns its head around as if it were taking notice of the master's disaster. All these features are also found in the two miniatures, though with slight variations. The whip in Pelops' hand, clearly visible in the Jerusalem miniature, is omitted in the Vatican one. Moreover, in both (though not very clearly recognizable in the Vatican picture), two horses, instead of only one as on the sarcophagi, turn their heads toward Oenomaus, thus further emphasizing the motif of attention paid to the disaster. In view of so many correspondences the conclusion seems to be justified that the miniatures go ultimately back to a classical archetype similar to the one on which also the sarcophagi depend.[7]

But in spite of these similarities it should not be overlooked that there are considerable differences between the two groups of monuments which must be explained as simplifications and transformations, resulting from a process of repeated copying. In the sarcophagi Oenomaus has tumbled down and is trod underfoot by the horses, while Myrtilus, the king's charioteer, is still standing on the chariot. In the simplified miniatures Oenomaus is still erect on the chariot, and it seems quite likely that this type was inspired by the ancient Myrtilus type.

A common change effected in the process of copying, which must be taken into consideration in the description of this and all following miniatures, is the alteration in costume.[8] It is typical of miniature painting of this period to turn the heroes of the myth into Byzantine emperors with jewel-studded

[3] C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, pl. CIV, no. 323.

[4] Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 386 and pls. CIII, no. 322-CVI, no. 329.

[5] Robert, *op. cit.*, nos. 325-329.

[6] Robert, *op. cit.*, no. 327.

[7] A. v. Salis, *Antike und Renaissance*, Erlenbach-Zürich 1947, p. 102, refers to an illustrated book as source for the sarcophagi.

[8] For the influence of fashion on the process of copying, cf. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 157ff.

crowns. But while the costumes change, the outlines and attitudes of the figures remain essentially unaltered from the classical models. Certain details are no longer understood by the Byzantine miniaturists, as, e.g., the shape of the chariot: the wheels are placed far to the rear instead of directly under the basket of the chariot.

The second passage of this first paragraph deals with Cecrops, who is praised as a good ruler and bilinguist, speaking Egyptian as well as Greek. Nothing more is said about Cecrops and none of the more familiar myths about him is narrated. This means that the original illustration of this passage, of which no trace is left, could hardly have been a mythological scene, but most likely represented a ruler enthroned, resembling perhaps Midas or Minos or Rhadamanthys (figs. 20-21 and 33-34).

The third passage tells of Alcmaeon that he went to Delphi in order to consult the Pythia about the possibilities of the liberation of Athens from tyranny. Oracles play an important role in Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries, and some of them were, as we shall see later, adorned with miniatures (figs. 74-78). The original miniature to the Alcmaeon passage was most probably conceived in a compositional scheme similar to that of these other cult scenes, among which is included an illustration of the oracle of the Delphian Apollo (figs. 75 and 78).

The fourth passage speaks of Aeacus, the just and pious son of Zeus whose prayer to his father brought to an end the plague of a drought. A later paragraph deals with two more sons of Zeus who were famous for their justice, namely Minos and Rhadamanthys (cf. p. 31). The illustrator of the Jerusalem manuscript represents them as dignitaries sitting in front of their palaces (fig. 33), and thus we believe a similar composition to have once existed for the Aeacus passage.

The final short passage about Heracles is a mere genealogical statement about his origin and posterity and hardly could have been illustrated by anything but a figure of Heracles without a narrative context. So whatever the illustrations of the Cecropidae, Alcmaeonidae, Aeacidae, and Heraclidae may have looked like, not one of them was likely to be a narrative scene such as the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus. Furthermore, it is not likely that any of them, with the exception perhaps of the figure of Heracles, had a pictorial ancestry in classical art.

That these additional passages did indeed once possess pictures is assured by empty spaces provided for them on folio 143^{r} of the Vatican manuscript, although the miniatures were never executed, for reasons not known to us. However, there are only three interstices on this page after the passages on the Cecropidae, Aeacidae, and Heraclidae, leaving no space for a miniature after the passage on the Alcmaeonidae. This does not necessarily mean that

a picture did not exist also for this passage, and there are several possible explanations for this irregularity. First of all, it seems unlikely that in the original lay-out four out of five passages were illustrated, and not the very one which lent itself most easily to illustration. Secondly, it is quite possible that in the model the miniatures illustrating the passages on Cecrops and Alcmaeon were placed side by side in the same interstice. Such a lining-up of two scenes side by side occurs quite frequently in book illustrations.[9]

2. *Elaphebolus, Orion, and Actaeon*

How reproachful, Gregory utters, are the Artemises, the Orions, and the Actaeons, these wretched hunters.[10] Pseudo-Nonnus[11] takes up these allusions and first tells us that Artemis is surnamed ἐλαφηβόλος because of her ability to transfix deers skillfully. Then he goes on to relate the misfortunes of Actaeon and of Orion, both of whom were pursued by Artemis because of their offenses against her. The manuscripts in Jerusalem and the Vatican possess a miniature only to the Actaeon story (figs. 6 and 10), which is told by Pseudo-Nonnus in the following words: "Actaeon was a hunter and he saw Artemis naked. Considering it a crime to see gods naked, especially virginal ones, the goddess in her wrath enraged dogs at Actaeon; and the dogs, mistaking him for a deer with antlers, lacerated him. . . ."

In the Jerusalem miniature (fig. 6) the mythological scene is placed in front of a rich landscape background with a chain of steep mountains. At the left stands the nude goddess, wearing a high headgear with a feathered crest, and with a quiver around her hip and a bow in her hand, and at the right Actaeon is attacked by three dogs. To Actaeon as a hunter belongs also the saddled horse at the extreme right, which at a later period was copied on the margin by a childish hand.

Also this composition, like the preceding Pelops scene, goes ultimately back to a classical model although that fact is less obvious here at first glance because greater changes have somewhat obscured the classical nucleus. Characteristic is the nearly completed metamorphosis of Actaeon into a deer, only the head and the neck remaining in human form. Classical antiquity nearly always represented Actaeon as a youthful human being, with antlers over the forehead as the only indication of the initial stage of the metamorphosis. A notable exception is a Pompeian mosaic known only from an early reproduction,[12] the original being no longer traceable, where Actaeon's whole head is already transformed into that of a deer. As long as no example with a nearly completed metamorphosis is found in classical antiquity it

[9] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 85ff.

[10] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 504.

[11] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1061.

[12] F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, vol. III, Naples 1890, pl. XIII.

seems reasonable to assume that this feature is a Byzantine invention for the sake of a clearer pictorialization of the text. However, that a classical composition underlies the composition, in spite of this advanced stage of transformation, may be demonstrated by comparing it with a scene on an Etruscan urn in Volterra (fig. 7).[13] In both instances Actaeon tries to escape toward the left, at the same time turning his head around to look with fright at the raving hounds. Both show three hounds, arranged—with one at the lower right biting into the hip, the second jumping from above and biting into the left shoulder, and the third attacking from the left—in a sufficiently similar way to warrant the assumption of a classical representation, not unlike the relief of the urn, as model of the miniature. The only difference is the position of the hound at the lower left who in the urn bites into the leg instead of the breast as in the miniature. But the latter motif, too, occurs in classical art, e.g. on a Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre (fig. 8).[14]

A strange feature in the miniatures is the nakedness of Artemis in the scene of Actaeon's punishment. In classical monuments the virginal huntress is in this particular scene represented either in a short tunic as on the Etruscan urns (fig. 7) or in a long garment as in the fresco from the Casa di Epidio Sabino in Pompei.[15] This fresco is interesting in that it has two scenes, the bathing of Artemis and the punishment of Actaeon, combined in the same landscape; in the first one Artemis is nude, but in the second, where she pursues Actaeon with her dogs, she is clad. It seems, therefore, quite likely that the nude Artemis of the miniatures is not a Byzantine invention, but the result of a conflation of the bathing and the pursuing type, the illustrator having copied the nudity from the former and the attitude and outline from the latter. But not even the conflation of the two phases of the episode is necessarily a Byzantine invention, since it occurs already in classical art in the fresco of the Casa di Sallustio in Pompeii (fig. 9),[16] though in a somewhat different manner. Actaeon is represented twice, first looking from behind the rocks at the bathing Artemis and a second time lacerated by the dogs. In this case there is no fusion of the two Artemis types; only the first is depicted and the second, i.e. the clad pursuing huntress, is omitted, so that the bathing Artemis, both is watched and, at the same time, gives the command for the laceration of Actaeon.

[13] G. Körte, *I Relievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. II, Berlin 1890, p. 12 and pl. III, no. 3.—G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, Milan 1935, pl. CCCC, no. 2.

[14] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 1, p. 3 and pl. I, no. 1.

[15] W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, p. 70, no. 252; atlas, pl. VIII.—Ch. M. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (Yale Classical Studies, IX), New Haven 1944, p. 97, no. 37, and pl. XII.

[16] B. Pace, *Bolletino d'arte*, XXVII, 1933-34, p. 490 with figure.—Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 96, no. 35, and pl. XIII.

There is one more element to be explained, namely the saddled horse. Here we can be sure of a Byzantine innovation, since no classical text mentions a horse in connection with Actaeon. The Byzantine miniaturist may have been inspired by a Christian hunting scene like that of St. Eustachius. In a Psalter of the Pantokratoros monastery on Mt. Athos cod. 61, e.g.,[17] a saddled horse is placed behind the kneeling saint just as in the Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures behind Actaeon.

Although the miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 10) obviously goes back to the same archetype as that of the Jerusalem codex, there are slight differences. The human part of Actaeon is comparatively larger and includes human arms, thus seeming to be closer to the classical concept. On the other hand, the way in which the upper part of the body hangs down, head foremost, is surely not antique, but rather a step further in the mediaeval transformation. The hounds are differently arranged, and the attitude of Artemis, especially of her right arm, is changed, so that she seems to be putting her hand on the quiver. Moreover, the striding attitude of the figure, which is badly redrawn with thick, inked lines, is more in agreement with the pursuing Artemis in the fresco from the Casa di Epidio Sabino, and therefore seems more classical than the quietly standing Artemis of the Jerusalem miniature, although, on the other hand, the latter's outstretched right arm conforms more closely to the fresco. The landscape is reduced to a steep mountain on either side. Thus each of the two miniatures has different features which connect with the classical pictorial tradition, and it is difficult to say which one is closer to the archetype.

The illuminators of the Jerusalem and Vatican manuscripts illustrated only the Actaeon episode, and not the passage about Orion which is a part of the same paragraph. It is not unlikely that originally there was a picture for this passage also. After commenting on the divine and miraculous origin of Orion, Pseudo-Nonnus tells us that he was a great hunter and that he was loved by Artemis. But later the incensed goddess released a scorpion that killed him, and thereafter Orion and the scorpion were placed as constellations in the starry heaven.

An illustration of the latter part of the story, with Orion and the scorpion, exists in a manuscript of the *Theriaca* of Nicander in Paris cod. suppl. gr. 247 from the tenth century.[18] In this didactic poem Nicander narrates (verses 13-20) that the scorpion with its paralyzing sting was created by Artemis "when she in her wrath desired the death of Orion of Boeotia who had dared

[17] K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. and 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, pl. LIX, no. 353 (henceforth cited: *Byz. Buchmalerei*).

[18] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LXV, no. 1.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 144 and figs. 131-132.

to put his hands upon the virginal peplos of the goddess. The deadly scorpion, hidden under a rock, stung the heel of the criminal whose image in the position of a hunter was put among the stars and stays there forever visible." The miniature to this passage depicts Orion as a constellation type and the scorpion underneath, much too big in scale compared with the human figure. Since the Orion type is clearly derived from an illustrated Aratus manuscript while the scorpion is a part of the original set of scientific illustrations, this miniature lacks unity of concept. It is therefore more than doubtful that an Orion illustration of the Pseudo-Nonnus text, if there ever was one, had anything to do with the picture in the Nicander. There may have been a more narrative scene with the scorpion actually stinging the heel of Orion, but this remains, of course, hypothetical.

3. *The Substituted Hind*

Gregory[19] mentions in the same breath with the ill-fated hunters Actaeon and Orion "the hind substituted for the maiden." Already in the first *Oratio Invectiva contra Julianum* Gregory hinted at the sacrifice of the royal maiden,[20] and Pseudo-Nonnus commented on it in a paragraph entitled περὶ τῆς ἐν Ταύροις ξενοκτονίας.[21] For this reason some manuscripts do not repeat the full story of Iphigenia's sacrifice in connection with Gregory's second allusion in the *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii* and, as the Princeton manuscript, merely add to the title περὶ τῆς ἀντιδοθείσης ἐλάφου a reference to the corresponding paragraph in the commentary to the *Invectiva.* In other Pseudo-Nonnus texts, however, the story is repeated, though with slightly different phrases; e.g. in the Vatican codex we read (fig. 10) : "At the time when the Greeks sailed from Greece to Troy, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis in Boeotia. When the sacrifice was about to take place, Artemis had pity on the maiden, seized her and brought her to the Taurians in Scythia, but for the maiden she substituted a hind which the Greeks sacrificed instead. Iphigenia became a priestess of Artemis in the country of the Scythians."

Whereas text and picture of this paragraph were passed over by the scribe and miniaturist of the Jerusalem manuscript, an empty space following this passage in the Vatican codex (fig. 10) makes it clear that the scribe provided for a miniature which was not executed. He would hardly have done so had not the model had a picture which, for unknown reasons, was not copied. Assuming that the first miniaturist, who made up a scene from this passage, followed the text fairly closely, we would expect a composition consisting of Iphigenia, Artemis and the hind. A Hellenistic relief from Termessos (figs.

[19] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 504.

[20] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 592.

[21] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 989.

11 and 218)[22] represents Artemis holding the hind by its antlers in front of an altar and, on the other side of it, Iphigenia in a quiet attitude resigned to her fate. A composition of this kind may well have been attached to the Pseudo-Nonnus text, particularly in view of the fact that we possess a Byzantine ivory relief with the same subject (cf. p. 173 and fig. 215) which, as all the ivories of this and similar caskets, is, as we shall see later, based on a miniature tradition.

4. *The Thessalian Cave*

On the subject of Basil's education Gregory remarks that he was brought up by his great father "not boasting of a Thessalian mountain-cave as a workshop of virtue or of a braggart centaur, the teacher of the heroes of his time," and that he was not taught by him "to chase hares, to run down fawns, to hunt stags, to excel in war or in breaking young horses, using the same person as horse and teacher as well, or to be nourished on the mythic marrow of deer and lions. . . ."[23] Pseudo-Nonnus rightly recognizes in this passage an allusion to the education of Achilles by Chiron which he describes in a paragraph entitled "The Thessalian Cave" with the following words: "Achilles, the son of Thetis, was given to Chiron to be educated and to be taught in archery. Chiron was a hippocentaur who lived in a cave in Thessaly. He took Achilles and set him on his horse-shaped back, and in this manner he trained him and taught him archery. And he nursed him not with milk, but with the marrow of deer and other animals. . . ."[24]

The miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 12) corresponds very well with the text of Pseudo-Nonnus. Chiron and the boy Achilles on his back, who have just emerged from the cave, practice archery, aiming at a couple of deer that try to escape to the mountain. A childish hand tried to copy one of the deer in an utterly clumsy manner.

We possess several classical and late classical representations of this theme which are sufficiently similar to warrant the assumption of the miniature's derivation from an ancient model. In all these earlier examples the education of Achilles by Chiron is part of a larger cycle of scenes from the hero's youth. In the bronze reliefs of the so-called Tensa Capitolina in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,[25] which decorate the basket of a chariot, the hunting adventure (fig. 14) is the fourth scene in a series of twelve, being preceded by

[22] Cf. p. 173 and note 75.

[23] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 509.

[24] Westermann, *Μυθόγραφοι*, p. 365, no. xv, no. 1.

[25] H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford 1926, p. 179 and pls. 68-73.—F. Staehlin, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXI, 1906, pp. 332ff. and pls. XVII-XVIII.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 29 and fig. 22. According to Staehlin the tensa is to be dated in the time of Septimius Severus, while Stuart Jones puts it a little later in the middle of the third century.

the baptism of Achilles in the Styx, Chiron's presentation of Achilles to Peleus, and by Chiron's endeavor to teach Achilles the playing of the lyre. The object of the hunt is in this case a bear at which the child Achilles throws a javelin, while Chiron with a branch in his arm turns his head around toward his pupil and makes an encouraging gesture. The scene is framed by a nymph and a mountain god. A second cycle with the youth story of Achilles runs around the rim of a circular marble slab of the Museo Capitolino (fig. 16),[26] which is explained by some as a table, by others as the rim of a bowl. Preceded by a scene of the birth of Achilles and once more by his baptism in the Styx and Thetis' presentation of the boy Achilles to Chiron, there follows as the fourth scene the hunting of a lion. Achilles raises his arm in order to throw an arrow, while Chiron, too, holds an arrow in one hand and a bow in the other. A bronze plate in the museum of Cairo (fig. 15)[27] contains a third cycle of the youth of Achilles, in which a hunting scene follows the presentation of Achilles to Chiron by Thetis and the boy's target practice. Once more a lion is hunted, but in a manner different from the preceding example: the succumbing animal is transfixed by Achilles with a long spear and Chiron holds a club in one hand and points encouragingly with the other toward the lion.

In spite of obvious differences in the manner of hunting, the main figures of Chiron and Achilles have some features in common in all these classical and late classical examples: Chiron dashes off to the right and turns his head toward his pupil, who is depicted as a small, nude boy, obviously enjoying the ride on the centaur's back. This group is the nucleus of the Jerusalem miniature (fig. 13) in which Chiron holds a bow as he does in the marble relief (fig. 16). The main changes in the miniature are the bow instead of a spear in the hands of Achilles and Chiron's attitude looking straight ahead. Why the Byzantine miniaturist added two horns to the head of Chiron we are unable to explain. None of the three earlier instances has an extensive landscape, obviously because of lack of space, but very likely there existed painted representations in the classical period with a somewhat more extensive mountainous background which probably included also the cave mentioned in the text. However, the elongated shape of the cave in the

[26] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, vol. I, 1889, p. 4.—H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, p. 45 and pl. 9.—A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Πλὰξ τραπέζης χριστιανική*, in: Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1914, p. 70. According to Jones "it can only be dated indefinitely in the early mediaeval period." A more convincing attempt to date the whole group of similar marble reliefs was made by Xyngopoulos, who dated them in the fourth century and localized them in Egypt. These views are shared by G. A. S. Snyder, "The So-Called Puteal in the Capitoline Museum at Rome," *Jour. Roman Studies*, XIII, 1923, pp. 56ff. and pl. I.

[27] J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst, Catalogue général du musée du Caire*, Vienna 1904, p. 257 and pl. XXVI. The broad limits of date, he proposes, are between the fourth and eighth centuries.

miniature has a rather Byzantine aspect, not unlike the Holy Tomb in the representation of the Women at the Holy Sepulcher in Gospel miniatures.[28]

The miniature of the Vatican manuscript is much simplified and reduced to only half the width of the writing column. Owing to a later redrawing of the outlines it now looks as if Achilles were clad in a tunic, and the crowns which he and Chiron wear are obviously later additions. In this respect the picture deviates still further from the classical tradition. On the other hand, the dashing-off of Chiron with both forelegs off the ground is more in accordance with the classical examples, in contra-distinction to the Jerusalem miniature where Chiron puts down his stiff right foreleg. The mountain is so much flaked that the hunted animals are no longer recognizable. Although the Jerusalem miniature as a whole represents the better version, the Vatican one cannot entirely be discarded for the reconstruction of the archetype.

5. *The Turning of the Ring of Gyges*

Among the various pagans despised by Gregory is "Gyges who by the turning the bezel of his ring—if this is not a myth—obtained the tyranny over the Lydians."[29] Already in the *First Invectiva* Gregory alludes to the story of Gyges and his miraculous ring,[30] and Pseudo-Nonnus commented on it in a paragraph of the commentary to this homily.[31] Whereas the Princeton manuscript in the commentary to the *Oratio Funebris* gives only a reference to the paragraph in the *Invectiva* and a short summary, the Jerusalem and Vatican manuscripts repeat the Gyges story in detail, though with slightly varied phrasing. In this paragraph Pseudo-Nonnus tells us that he used Plato's *Republic* (II, 359 D) as source for his information, and then goes on to say: "Gyges found in a brazen horse a human corpse with a gold ring on its hand. He took the ring and discovered that whenever he turned the bezel of the ring toward himself, he became invisible. Making use of this trick he went into the royal palace of the Lydians, killed their king and took over the tyranny over the Lydians. But Herodotus tells the story differently. According to him Gyges killed the king Candaules with the help of the queen and thus became king himself."[32]

The miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 17) illustrates only the second half of the story, i.e. the killing of Candaules. The king of the Lydians lies on a couch, clad in a long garment and wearing a crown like a Byzantine emperor, while Gyges, dressed in a short tunic, pierces him with a lance. Two buildings with open doors, connected by a wall, suggest the interior of the

[28] G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris 1916, figs. 567, 568, 594, etc.

[29] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.

[30] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 628.

[31] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1013.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 366, no. XVI.

[32] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalogue* I, p. 64 and plate.

palace into which Gyges has intruded. Outside of the palace, at the left, stands a group of soldiers, obviously the bodyguard of Candaules, apparently unaware of the event taking place inside. Whether the artist intended to illustrate the version of Plato or Herodotus is not quite certain. In case of the latter he hardly would have omitted the queen as the instigator of the plot, and for this reason one may give preference to the former. But it may be even more likely that the artist did not intend at all to differentiate between the two versions.

The compositional scheme is somewhat conventional and occurs similarly in various scenes of Biblical manuscripts. The Octateuch in the Seraglio, e.g., contains as illustration to Num. xxv, 7-8, a picture in which the zealous Phinehas pierces his lance through the belly of the Israelite who lies on a couch with the Midianitish woman (fig. 19),[33] and it seems by no means impossible that this or a similar Biblical picture was adapted by the Pseudo-Nonnus painter and used as model. Other details seem to confirm the dependence on a Byzantine rather than a classical composition. The whole architectural setting, with the two houses and a wall between them, is a stereotyped feature of Byzantine backgrounds, and the group of soldiers, which has no basis in the Pseudo-Nonnus text, likewise points to a model of a different content in which these soldiers formed an integral part of the story.

In the Vatican manuscript (fig. 18) the miniature occupies only half the width of the writing column, so that the painter had to condense the scene. He omitted the bodyguard, while the two buildings, supposed to frame the central group, were pushed into the margin and placed side by side, with no wall between them. The left building, which is topped by a gable, has open shutters, typical for representations of Byzantine houses. The central group with Gyges and Candaules agrees in all essential points with the Jerusalem miniature, save that Gyges holds the lance over his head in a gesture quite similar to that of the Phinehas in the Octateuch. Moreover he holds a sheath in the other hand and wears a fluttering chlamys.

No representation of the Gyges story, as far as we know, has been found in classical art.

6. *Midas*

Together with Gyges, Gregory mentions "Midas who perished through the gold, after he saw his wish fulfilled that everything he had might turn into gold."[34] Pseudo-Nonnus tells in his commentary how the gold led to the destruction of Midas, because everything, even the food he tried to eat,

[33] Cf. also D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leiden 1909, pl. 75, no. 246, where the Midianitish woman is lacking as the result of a later restoration.

[34] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.

turned into gold so that he starved.[35] Contrary to the preceding paragraph, Pseudo-Nonnus does not quote the source for his story, which we know today chiefly from Latin writers such as Ovid (*Met.* XI, 92ff.). Moreover, Pseudo-Nonnus tells still another episode about Midas for which the Gregory text gives no hint: "There was an oracle as others tell that Midas should ride on a chariot and wherever the chariot stopped he should found a city. . . . Being stopped by an anchor, he founded at this very spot the city which is called Ankara."[36]

The Jerusalem miniature (fig. 20) illustrates both episodes. At the left one recognizes Midas, crowned and dressed like a Byzantine emperor. He sits in front of a gabled house which is meant to represent his palace, and he holds in both hands food which has turned into gold. He apparently had taken it from a table which is covered with golden squares, indicating more transmuted victuals. No feature of this composition reveals a classical ancestry, and it seems more likely that the artist was inspired by a Byzantine model. However, an emperor sitting in front of a house is a type too familiar to suggest a specific theme as model. The scene at the right represents Midas, again a crowned Byzantine emperor, on a quadriga,[37] dashing off as if he were taking part in a chariot race. One might have expected to see the chariot pausing in front of an anchor, but in the Jerusalem picture the chariot does not stop and there is no anchor. The artist seems to have been content with the repetition of a model similar to that of the Pelops race (fig. 2), making no effort to change the composition for the specific requirements of a different text. The city of Ankara is represented in the typical Byzantine manner as a conventional cella-like house, similar to that at the left save for a few crenellations reminiscent of a walled city.

The much damaged miniature in the Vatican (fig. 21), again restricted to half the width of the page, is a fairly exact repetition of the Jerusalem one, condensed but without loss of any essential element. The Midas at the left sits closer at the table from which he is just picking up some food, and the building at the right, representing the city of Ankara, has been relegated to the margin.

Here we encounter the first mythological miniature in the Gregory manuscript of the Panteleimon monastery (fig. 22). It consists, however, of only the first episode and even this in an extremely abbreviated form. Placed in the margin, Midas is represented as a Byzantine emperor who not only wears the imperial crown, but is even dressed in the imperial loros and seated, in

[35] Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 377, no. XLIX.—Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 568 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

[36] Pausanias (I, IV, 5) mentions that he saw the anchor of Midas in the sanctuary of Zeus in Ankara.

[37] The crude lines around the head of Midas are drawn by a later hand.

frontal view, on a throne with a lyre-shaped back. In his right hand he holds a piece of food that has turned to gold just as it touches his mouth.

The prevalence of conventional Byzantine elements in both Midas episodes once more coincides with the fact that no classical representation is known either of the king trying to eat what turns into gold or of the foundation of the city of Ankara. The only scene in which Midas occurs on classical monuments, particularly on vases of the fifth and fourth century B.C., is in connection with Silenus, whom he had captured in order to learn wisdom from him.[38]

7. *The Arrow of Abaris*

Gregory's mention of the "Arrow of the Hyperborean Abaris"[39] gave Pseudo-Nonnus the occasion to tell the following story for which, according to his own admission, he used Herodotus (IV, 36) as source: "It is said that Abaris, inspired by the god, migrated through the whole of Hellas with an arrow, uttering oracles and prophecies. Lycurgus the rhetor, in his *Oratio contra Menesaechmum*, tells that at the time of a famine in the country of the Hyperboreans Abaris came to Greece, entered the service of Apollo and learned from him to prophesy. And so holding the arrow as symbol of Apollo —the god namely was an archer himself—Abaris went prophesying through whole Greece."[40]

Whereas in the Jerusalem manuscript text and picture of this passage are omitted, the Vatican manuscript contains the text and at the end of it, near the bottom of folio 144^r, an empty interstice for a miniature never executed. Except for the Arimaspi and Griffons the myth of the Hyperboreans did not have a great influence on the representational arts, and as for Abaris himself we do not know of any representation in classical art. The miniature in the archetype of Pseudo-Nonnus had most likely to do with the prophecies of Abaris and thus belonged to the group of numerous representations of oracles all of which, as we shall see later, were invented by Byzantine illustrators.

8. *Pegasus*

In the same passage in which Gyges, Midas and Abaris are despised, Gregory[41] points at the Argive Pegasus "to whom the flight through the air was of no such consequence as to us the rising to God." Already in the *First Invectiva* Gregory had mentioned the Chimera,[42] and Pseudo-Nonnus had commented on it in a paragraph.[43] As in earlier instances of this kind the Princeton manuscript merely refers to the paragraph in the commentary to the

[38] W. Kroll, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Midas, col. 1535.
[39] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.
[40] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 509 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).
[41] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.
[42] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 628.
[43] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1012.

Invectiva, while the Jerusalem and Vatican manuscripts repeat the whole story of Bellerophon's fight with the Chimera, though in somewhat different phraseology. This is what Pseudo-Nonnus has to say: "The Chimera of Patara . . . was causing ruin in the country of the Lycians and, under the rulership of Proetus in Lycia, Bellerophon was commanded to kill it. The monster . . . had the fore part of a lion, the hind part of a dragon, and the middle was the Chimera which was spitting fire. This made it difficult to catch the monster. When Bellerophon had found Pegasus, the divine horse, which is said to have wings and to throw waves with the hoofs, he used the flying horse as an aid. Having fixed a leaden ball at the top of his lance, he threw it in the mouth of the Chimera and, after the fire had melted the lead, he killed the Chimera."[44]

The Jerusalem miniature (fig. 23) depicts the killing of the Chimera in front of a mountain landscape with steep peaks. Bellerophon, nude save for the fluttering mantle fastened around his breast, rides through the air on the winged Pegasus as the text describes it. He directs the lance against the monster, which is represented as a lion with the tail of a snake and with the Chimera proper, in the form of a fire-spitting goat's head on its back. Already Homer (*Iliad* VI, 181) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 319) describe the middle part of the monster as that of a goat and classical art followed their description in pictorializing the monster. This indicates that the miniaturist, who could not have learned this detail from the Pseudo-Nonnus text, must have depended on the classical tradition for the representation of the Chimera.

The compositional scheme, as we see it in the miniature, can be traced back to red-figured vase paintings like that of a pelike in the Louvre from the Campana collection,[45] to quote only one of the several examples. However, the scheme in which Bellerophon and the Chimera face each other is not the usual one in later classical art. Apparently to save space, Bellerophon and the monster are more frequently superimposed and the hero kills the monster from above. A sarcophagus in the Villa Pamfili in Rome on which several phases of the Bellerophon episode are illustrated (fig. 25)[46] represents a good example of this condensed group. But in other details the scene of the sarcophagus is closer to the miniature. Whereas in the early vase painting Bellerophon is clad with a mantle, as is typical for the early classical period, the Roman relief, not unlike the miniature, represents him nude with the mantle fluttering from behind.

[44] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1061.

[45] R. Engelmann, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XLVI, 1874, p. 20, no. 55, and pl. B.—E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, III, Paris 1922, p. 289, no. G535, and pl. 155.—*Corp. Vas. Ant.*, France fasc. 12, Louvre fasc. 8, Paris 1933, p. 28 and pl. 41.

[46] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 1, pl. VIII-IX, no. 34.

The miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 24) shows no important variation except that the landscape is omitted because of lack of space. However, one detail, the monster's tail with the head of a fire-spitting snake, is better preserved in the Vatican miniature, which on the whole is much more flaked than the Jerusalem one.

9. *Alpheus*

Gregory mentions, without naming it, "a river flowing with fresh water through the sea."[47] It is a sign of learnedness on the part of Pseudo-Nonnus to have recognized in this remark an allusion to the river Alpheus and he tells the story of this river god in the following words: "Alpheus is a river in Arcadia, and Arcadia is a country in the Peloponnese. There is also a spring on the island of Sicily by the name of Arethusa. It is said that Alpheus was enamored of the spring of Arethusa, and, being in love, he crossed the sea and issued forth in Sicily near the spring of Arethusa, without having mixed with the salt water of the sea and thus maintaining himself as a clear stream until he reached his beloved."[48]

This story is illustrated in the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 26) not as a mythological episode in the classical manner, but rather as a miracle of nature with a distinct interest for the geographical situation. The scene is divided by the deep sea; at the right is the high Arcadian mountain of the Peloponnese and at the left a smaller rock that is surrounded on both sides by water and meant to represent the island of Sicily. On the mountain of Arcadia sits Alpheus, the river god, with a vessel in his hands from which water issues that flows as a stream across the bottom of the sea until it reaches the nymph Arethusa, who sits on the island of Sicily. Alpheus is represented a second time, swimming in the stream and embracing Arethusa, to judge from the corresponding miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 27) in which this motif is more clearly discernible, if only in the outlines, the color having flaked off completely. One may have some doubts as to whether the personification seated on the mountain at the right is indeed Alpheus and that, therefore, he was represented twice. One may think, perhaps, of this figure as of a personification of the Peloponnese, which was not unknown in classical art and occurs, if this identification can be accepted, in the form of a girl standing between Athena and Zeus, on a votive relief in Athens.[49] Yet the attribute of the water urn, discernible in the miniature, suggests rather a

[47] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.

[48] Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 361, no. IX, no. 3.—Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 525 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).—Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalogue* I, p. 65 and plate.

[49] F. von Duhn, *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXV, 1877, p. 171, no. 102, and pl. 15 no. 1.—A. Dumont, *Bull. corr. hell.*, II, 1878, p. 559 and pl. XI.

river god and hence Alpheus. In order to make the spectator realize how great the distance is between the two rocky islands, the painter of the Jerusalem manuscript added a sailboat with two persons on board, cruising the high sea. In the small Vatican miniature this boat is omitted because of lack of space.

Not only the type of the personifications, but the whole concept of this picture is entirely unclassic. To represent realistically and at the same time in such a naïve manner a stream crossing the sea and a river god swimming in it, is unthinkable in classical art. A classical painter would probably have treated the theme as a love scene in which Alpheus either pursues Arethusa as Opollo pursues Daphne, or embraces an unresisting Arethusa. However, we must admit that we do not know of any such representation.[50]

10. *The Salamander*

In the same sentence in which Alpheus is mentioned Gregory speaks of an "animal that can dance in the fire by which all things are consumed,"[51] alluding, of course, to the salamander. Pseudo-Nonnus comments on this animal in the following way: "The salamander is an animal of the size of a lizard or of a small crocodile living on dry land. It is the coldest animal living above the ground, since going into the fire, it quenches the flame without being consumed by it."[52]

The salamander is described in various scientific treatises on animals from classical antiquity, many of which were illustrated. Dioscurides, e.g., in his Second Book of the *Materia Medica*, entitled "About All Living Things," ascribes to the salamander septic and other powers, but denounces the belief that it could extinguish fire. In the Dioscurides manuscript of the Morgan Library in New York, cod. M. 652, from the tenth century[53] this paragraph is accompanied by a simple picture of a salamander. Also Nicander of Colophon in his *Alexipharmaca* (verses 550-558) deals with the salamander and tells of a beverage, infected by a poisonous salamander, which when drunk by a human being causes him to become feeble, fall down, and creep on the ground like a child. The Paris codex suppl. gr. 247 from the tenth century, the only existing Nicander manuscript with illustrations, represents in conformity with this passage a crawling man between a salamander and a lizard.[54] However, the story that the salamander is unharmed by fire is told also

[50] A fresco, formerly in the Campana collection, which Galli identified as Alpheus pursuing Arethusa, was with good reasons doubted as being genuine by O. Jahn. Cf. E. Braun, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XI, 1839, pp. 229-238.—Galli, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, XXV, 1853, p. 22.—*Mon. inediti*, III, 1839, pl. IX.

[51] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 524.

[52] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 642 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

[53] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbaei De Materia Medica libri VII* (facsimile), Paris 1935, fol. 212r.

[54] Omont, *Miniatures*, p. 39 and pl. LXVII, no. 4.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 167 and fig. 162.

in the paraphrase to Nicander by a certain Eutecnius in the well-known Dioscurides manuscript in Vienna, cod. med. gr. 1,[55] as well as in the above-mentioned Morgan codex (fig. 28)[56] in which this passage is illustrated by a salamander in a flame. If the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary ever had a picture (which is probable but not absolutely certain since the Vatican manuscript does not provide any space for a miniature—the Jerusalem manuscript having neither text nor picture), it may have been somewhat similar and actually have been taken over from an illustrated Nicander paraphrase of Eutecnius.

11. *The Lydian Chariot*

Gregory illustrates his and other pupils' devotion to Basil with an ancient proverb, remarking that they followed him "running on foot beside the Lydian chariot."[57] Pseudo-Nonnus explains this phrase as follows: ". . . This proverb is used for characterizing the Lydian chariots as the fastest ones, impossible to outstrip. Others want to derive the proverb from the chariot of Pelops, considering him a Lydian rather than a Phrygian. The very chariot in which he overcame Oenomaus gave the origin to the proverb: 'to run beside the Lydian chariot.' "[58]

Here we have a hint of the Pelops and Oenomaus story, which, as may be remembered, is told more in detail and exists with an illustration in the first paragraph of the present commentary. If the passage ever had a miniature (for which, as in the preceding paragraph, no space is provided in the Vatican manuscript—the Jerusalem one containing once more neither text nor picture) it hardly could have depicted anything but a repetition of the previous miniature with the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus (figs. 2-3).

12. *Orestes and Pylades*

Gregory, in praising the preceptors of the Church and speaking of their celebrity, contrasts them with pagans like Orestes and Pylades, without saying, however, anything specific about them.[59] Pseudo-Nonnus has some strange things to say about these two friends: "Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, had such a love for Pylades, and so had Pylades for Orestes, that the latter, after the death of Pylades, followed his friend even to Hades."[60]

[55] Premerstein-Wessely-Mantuani, *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Julianae* (facsimile), vol. II, Leiden 1906, fol. 423ʳ.—P. Buberl, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, vol. VIII, part IV), vol. I, Leipzig 1937, p. 55 and pl. XVI, no. 4.

[56] *Op. cit.*, fol. 381ʳ.

[57] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 525.

[58] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 620 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

[59] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 525.

[60] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 621 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).—Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalogue* I, p. 65 and plate.

There is, as far as we know, no classical source from which Pseudo-Nonnus could have gotten this information. As a matter of fact, it contradicts what little we know about the end of Orestes, who according to some sources died of old age, and according to others from a snake-bite in Arcadia;[61] but nowhere is Pylades mentioned in connection with his death. Moreover, concerning the death of Pylades the sources are silent. Whether Pseudo-Nonnus made up the whole story or found it in another source we are unable to say. The origin of the strange story may have something to do with the etymology of the word Pylades as πύλη ᾅδου.[62]

The Jerusalem manuscript is the only one which has an illustration to this strange passage (fig. 29); the Vatican manuscript (on fol. 144ᵛ) provides merely an interstice for a miniature which was not executed. At the left the corpse of Pylades, lying on a bier, is carried by two men, and Orestes marches behind it, displaying signs of deep grief. The two friends are similarly clad in long-sleeved tunics with golden borders. At the right the mummified corpse of Pylades is lowered by the two carriers in a sarcophagus, while Orestes stands near by with a gesture of grief. Such a composition is not a very convincing rendering of the meaning of the text, which says that Orestes followed his friend to Hades. A building framing the miniature at either side, and a mountain behind the entombment scene are the usual decorative elements in Byzantine miniatures. Thoroughly Byzantine also are the compositional schemes; they are so typical for Biblical miniatures that the influence of the latter can justifiably be assumed. For instance, in a manuscript of the Books of Kings in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 333, there is an illustration of Abner's death (fig. 30)[63] in which his corpse lies on a similar bier (though carried by four instead of two men) and is followed by the mourning David, a figure not unlike the mourning Orestes. Similar entombment scenes are found quite frequently in the Octateuchs, where, to cite only one example from the Vatican codex gr. 746 (fig. 31),[64] the mummy of the deceased Jephthah is lowered in the sarcophagus by two Israelites while a group of mourners stands at its head.

13. *The Molionides*

Together with Orestes and Pylades Gregory mentions a pair of inseparable brothers, the "Molionides, celebrated in the book of Homer, who were well known for their partnership in misfortune and for their excellent driving

[61] W. Kroll, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Orestes, col. 1008.

[62] I am much indebted to Prof. Henri Grégoire for this interesting suggestion.

[63] For this manuscript in general, cf. J. Lassus, "Les Miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XLV, 1928, pp. 38ff.

[64] For a replica of this scene in the Smyrna Octateuch, cf. Hesseling, *op. cit.*, pl. 92, no. 317.

of the chariot, in which they shared the reins and whips."[65] This is an allusion to the giants Eurytus and Cteatus, the sons of Actor and Molione, who had two bodies joined in one.[66] Pseudo-Nonnus, in commenting on this passage, describes by mistake another pair of giants as sons of Molione, namely Otus and Ephialtes. But according to the mythographical tradition these giants are considered to be the sons of Iphimedia and of either Poseidon or Aloeus, for whom they are also called the Aloads. Pseudo-Nonnus' story of Otus and Ephialtes, which, except for the erroneous statement that Molione was their mother, has nothing to do with the allusion in Gregory's homily, runs as follows: "Molione was a woman who lived in Thrace and had two sons, Otus and Ephialtes, who grew every year one length of arm in height and one span in width. They became so insolent and arrogant that they wanted to rebel against the gods. They planned to heap the Ossa upon the Athos and in this manner to ascend to heaven. The Ossa and the Athos are two mountains in Thrace. Zeus in his wrath killed them with his thunderbolt by which they perished. There existed an oracle made to their mother that they would be killed by the thunderbolt because of their arrogance."[67]

It is difficult to imagine what a miniature to this paragraph may have looked like, but that one existed can hardly be doubted, since the Vatican manuscript (fig. 32) once more provides a space for it, although in the Jerusalem manuscript neither text nor picture were taken into consideration. There seems to be no monument preserved from the Greco-Roman period which depicts this episode from the life of Otus and Ephialtes. Only in archaic vase painting do representations of Ephialtes, at least, occur. A gigantomachy on an amphora from Caere depicts Ephialtes as the adversary closest to Zeus,[68] and the fragments of a black-figured pinax from Eleusis likewise suggest Ephialtes as opponent of Zeus.[69] However, there is no evidence that this battle scene between Zeus and Ephialtes persisted through the Hellenistic or Roman periods and could thus have served as model for the illustrator of the Pseudo-Nonnus text.

14. *The Labyrinth*

Gregory credits Basil, in praising him for manifold abilities, with such a profound knowledge of dialectics that in his opinion it is easier "to extricate

[65] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 525.

[66] *Iliad* II, 621; XI, 709ff., 750ff.; XXIII, 641.

[67] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 494 (Cosmas of Jerusalem). Here the story is told in phrases slightly different from the Princeton text of which we give the translation.

[68] M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst*, Berlin 1887, p. 285.—*Mon. inediti*, VI-VII, 1863, pl. LXXVIII.

[69] M. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.—Δ. Φίλιος, in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1885, p. 178, pl. 9, nos. 12 and 12a.

oneself from the labyrinths than to elude the nets of his arguments."[70] On the word *labyrinth* Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "On the island of Crete is a mountain where a cavern is found full of caves and difficult to enter and even more difficult to leave again. This allegedly was the dwelling place of the Minotaur."[71] And then he goes on to discuss the words *labyrinth* and ἄρκυς as used by Gregory.

Obviously, Pseudo-Nonnus is concerned with the description and location of the labyrinth rather than with any mythological episode connected with it. Consequently, as an illustration of this paragraph, we would hardly expect a mythological scene like the fight of Theseus with the Minotaur, but rather a geographical miniature of a similar type as the picture of Alpheus and Arethusa (figs. 26-27) and the picture with the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the Colossus of Rhodes (fig. 35).

This paragraph is lacking in the Jerusalem manuscript, but exists in the Vatican one, though without any provision for a picture. Yet, there is reason to believe that the model of the latter did possess a picture or at least space for one. In the Vatican manuscript the next paragraph on Minos and Rhadamanthys contains a miniature (fig. 34); the paragraph on the city of Cadiz follows, with *two* lacunae for pictures, one at the bottom of folio 145^r and the other on the top of 145^v. This irregularity can most easily be explained by the assumption that the model had miniatures (or at least spaces for them) for all three paragraphs and that the scribe of the copy placed the interstices incorrectly in the text, so that the first, intended for a picture of a labyrinth, came too far down in the Minos text and both the others became associated with the passage on Cadiz. The miniaturist then made the best of this situation and put the Minos miniature in the first instead of the second interstice, thus leaving no space for the labyrinth and two spaces for the city of Cadiz.

15. *Minos and Rhadamanthys*

In praising Basil as a man endowed with all virtues and talents, Gregory contrasts him with "Minos and Rhadamanthys whom the Greeks thought worthy of the meadows of asphodel and of the Elysian Fields."[72] This remark Pseudo-Nonnus explains: "Minos and Rhadamanthys are said to have been sons of Zeus. Minos was a lawgiver who received from his father all that relates to legislation, and Rhadamanthys was a just judge who learnt from his father justice. Poets and Plato himself tell about them that they were received after their death not by darkness, but by the Islands of the Blessed and the Elysian Fields. The name of the place is Elysium as if it were free from death and punishment. The just are said to have taken up their

[70] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 528.

[71] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[72] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 528.

abode there after their death. As far as the asphodel is concerned it is the name of an herb which has no bad scent. Its blossom is delightful and its root useful."[73]

As source for his information about Minos and Rhadamanthys Pseudo-Nonnus quotes Plato, who several times discusses jurisdiction over the dead, the most likely passage for our commentary text being *Apologia* 41A.[74] However, for the remarks about the plant aspodel, which read like a scientific description, there must have been another source of information, in all probability an herbal.

In the Jerusalem miniature to this paragraph (fig. 33) each of the two lawgivers is treated as a separate pictorial unit, set against a stereotype background of two buildings with a connecting wall. At the left we see Minos, dressed in a long-sleeved garment and a cowl and seated in front of a table which is covered with scrolls. In his left hand he holds an oblong object which resembles the codicilli—an appropriate attribute for a lawgiver. At the right sits Rhadamanthys in a similar posture, talking to two men at the other side of a table and passing sentence upon them. The compositional scheme of these two miniatures is entirely Byzantine and quite similar to that of Midas seated in front of a table covered with gold (fig. 20). Parallels for the scene at the right can easily be found in Byzantine miniatures showing a Church Father or some other teacher addressing in the same manner a group of listeners.

The corresponding picture in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 34) is so badly flaked that only by placing it beside the Jerusalem miniature can we make sure that we are dealing indeed with the same scene. Once more the two lawgivers sit each in front of his own building, but facing each other. This led to a simplification of the miniature by eliminating the two buildings in the center as seen in the Jerusalem miniature.

Representations of Minos and Rhadamanthys as judges do exist in classical antiquity, but they are differently conceived and from the formal point of view unconnected with our miniature. A group of Tarentine amphorae, e.g., depicts among various inhabitants of the lower world a group of three judges, adding Aeacus as the third. A vase from Canosa, now in Munich, likewise represents three judges conversing with each other, one standing and the other two seated. Helbig calls them Rhadamanthys, Minos, and Aeacus,[75] but Furtwängler apparently is more exact in interpreting the mid-

[73] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalogue* I, p. 65 and plate.—Slightly varied in: Migne, *P.G.* 38, cols. 539-540 (Cosmos of Jerusalem).

[74] Other passages: Gorgias 523E; 524A and E; 526BC; Republic X 614C; Phaido 113D; Phaedrus 249C. Cf. Malten in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Ῥαδάμανθυς, col. 34.

[75] Helbig, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Minos, col. 3004 and fig. 2.

dle one as Triptolemus, for on another Tarentine vase from Altamura the three judges are inscribed Triptolemus, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthys.[76] But, as we have said, the basic concept of this conversation group is different from that of the single judges of the Jerusalem miniature, who suggest, rather, officials in their offices.

16. *Cadiz*

Gregory compares the thoroughness of Basil's knowledge with a "ship that is laden with all the learning attainable by human nature," and then he adds the proverb: "beyond Gadira (i.e. Cadiz) the sea is not navigable."[77] Pseudo-Nonnus comments on this proverb: "The city of Cadiz is situated in the western part of the world where our sea issues into the Atlantic. The sea beyond Cadiz is said to be unnavigable because of its turbulence and darkness."[78] Then he adds a mythological explanation of the word Γάδειρα.

In the Jerusalem manuscript no space was provided for either text or picture, but the scribe of the Vatican manuscript, as stated above, by mistake inserted two interstices in the text of this passage. One would expect as subject of the miniature a representation of the city of Cadiz, probably as a schematic walled city without individuality and surrounded by the sea, like the water around the islands on which the Mausoleum and the Colossus of Rhodes stand (fig. 35).

17. *The Horse that Broke the Bond*

Gregory, finding separation from Basil unendurable, compares his own case to that of the famous horse in Homer: "Having burst the bonds by which I was restrained I stamped with the hoofs over the plains and rushed to my mate."[79] Pseudo-Nonnus rightly recognized in Gregory's quotation verses 506ff. of the Sixth Book of the Iliad: "The poet Homer, wishing to describe the quickness of Alexander, compared the hero with a horse in the following words: 'Even as when a stalled horse, full-fed at the manger, breaketh his tether and speedeth at the gallop across the plain.' "[80]

All we know about the illustration of Homeric poems from Hellenistic and Roman monuments like the Homeric bowls,[81] the Iliac tablets,[82] and the

[76] A. Furtwängler-K. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei,* I, Munich 1904, p. 47 and pl. 10. His identification was accepted by E. Fehrle in Roscher, *M.L., s.v.* Triptolemos, col. 1139 and fig. 7.

[77] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 528.

[78] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[79] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 529.

[80] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[81] C. Robert, *Homerische Becher* (50. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm), 1890.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 18 *passim.*

[82] O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken,* Bonn 1873.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 36 *passim.*

Iliad manuscript in Milan[83] leads us to believe that the illustrators of the classical period usually confined themselves to the representation of actual events and did not try to pictorialize metaphors. Therefore it seems unlikely that any illustrated Iliad had a miniature of a "horse galloping across the plain." If the passage quoted above was illustrated, we should rather expect Paris himself to be shown storming into the battle, instead of a galloping horse.

But this does not exclude the possibility that the Pseudo-Nonnus text, which on the contrary shows more interest in the metaphor than in the Homeric battle scene, had an illustration of a galloping horse. If so, such a miniature may have been somewhat like the one in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript in Venice which depicts a horse "running with light feet over the ears of corn . . ." (fig. 112). But in this case, as in a few others, we cannot be absolutely sure that in the archetype this paragraph was illustrated at all, since in the Vatican manuscript no space is provided for a miniature and in the Jerusalem manuscript there is neither text nor picture.

18. *The Giants that Were Sown and Grew up Immediately*

Gregory complains that, while other professions require long training before any promotion, "a bishop is easily found without proper training and with a reputation of recent date, being sown and simultaneously springing up as the myth tells about the giants."[84] Pseudo-Nonnus comments on the allusion to the giants as follows: "It is said that Cadmus or Jason or somebody else sowed the teeth of the maritime dragon into the earth and that well-armed men grew up. They grew up from the thigh to the top and standing erect they fought among themselves and against others."[85]

The Jerusalem manuscript once more has no space reserved for either text or picture, whereas the Vatican manuscript contains the passage as well as an interstice for a miniature which was not executed.

No representations of the sowing of the dragon's teeth or of the fighting of the giants that had sprung up from the teeth are, to our knowledge, preserved from classical antiquity in connection with the stories either of Cadmus or of Jason. Of the former a representation only of the immediately preceding scene, i.e. the killing of the dragon whose teeth will be sown, is known from vase painting.[86] Of Jason's deed in Colchis representations are known of the yoking of the brazen-footed bulls and of the winning of the

[83] A. M. Ceriani et Ach. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana*, Milan 1905.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 42ff., 54ff. and *passim*.

[84] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 532.

[85] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[86] H. Heydemann, "Kadmos," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXIX, 1871, p. 35.—O. Crusius in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Kadmos, cols. 829ff.

Golden Fleece,[87] but apparently none of the sowing of the teeth, i.e. of the event that took place between the two episodes just mentioned. Thus we cannot say whether or not the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus' paragraph on the giants had a classical model at his disposal and, if so, what it may have looked like.

19. *The Seven-Gated Thebes, the Egyptian Thebes, and Babylon*

The construction of a hospital by Basil outside the gates of Caesarea is compared by Gregory to the seven wonders of the world:[88] "The seven-gated Thebes, the Egyptian Thebes, the walls of Babylon, the Tomb of Mausolus of Caria, the Pyramids, the immense bronze of the Colossus, or the greatness and beauty of temples no longer in existence . . . from which their erectors gained nothing but scant fame." Pseudo-Nonnus comments in two paragraphs on only six of the seven wonders of the world, omitting the great temples. In the first of these two paragraphs he says: "The Thebes that had seven gates is a city in Greece and was erected with the aid of the cithara of Amphion and Zethus. Thebes in Egypt had even a hundred gates; it was namely a city so immensely big that it needed a hundred gates. But Babylon is said to have had the strongest walls which were built with baked bricks and melted asphalt and had immense latitude, height, and circumference."[89]

Text and picture of this passage had been passed over in the Jerusalem manuscript, and while the Vatican one includes the text, no space is provided for a picture. But, as in similar instances, this does not necessarily mean that no picture formerly existed. It probably depicted three walled cities like those typical of the Hellenistic-Roman period,[90] which have a crenelated, polygonal wall, studded with towers, enclosing buildings varying in number and shape. Whether in the Pseudo-Nonnus miniature the cities were individualized, perhaps by the exact number of gates for the Boeotian Thebes or by other details for the Egyptian Thebes or Babylon, remains, of course, a matter of speculation.

20. *The Tomb of Mausolus of Caria and the Colossus of Rhodes*

In the second paragraph Pseudo-Nonnus describes three more wonders of the world: "The Tomb of Mausolus of Caria is very great. Mausolus, the king of Caria, erected for himself a tomb at great expense over a mound in marshy ground, and he was buried inside of it. It is also described by the possessive

[87] H. Heydemann, *Jason in Kolchis* (11. Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm), Halle 1886—Seeliger in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Jason, cols. 77ff.

[88] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 580.

[89] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[90] Cf. F. Biebel, "The Walled Cities of the Gerasa Mosaics," *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis,* New Haven, 1938, pp. 341ff.

as the *Carian Tomb* or simply as *Caros*, indicating the nationality of Mausolus of Caria. The pyramids, which were built in Egypt at great expense, are also worthy of admiration. The Christians say that they were the granaries of Joseph, while the Greeks, and among them Herodotus, are of the opinion that they were tombs of certain kings. Probably the Greeks built them, after the time of Joseph and the exodus of the Israelites, as tombs of kings. The Colossus is said to be the biggest image of a man made of much bronze and worthy of admiration."[91] The omission of the seventh wonder in the Pseudo-Nonnus text is probably owing to the fact that Gregory mentions only six specifically, and makes only vague reference to the seventh as "huge and beautiful temples that don't exist any longer." According to the tradition of classical literature, which varies considerably on this point, the seventh wonder may have been the Artemisium of Ephesus or the temple of Zeus in Olympia.

Only the Jerusalem manuscript has an illustration to this paragraph (fig. 35) ; in the Vatican manuscript not even a space is provided for it. This fact may serve as a warning not to conclude hastily that the archetype was without a picture wherever an interstice for a miniature is lacking in the textually more complete Vatican manuscript. The Jerusalem miniature illustrates only the Mausoleum and the Colossus, but not the pyramids, whose corresponding text passage is also lacking. Presumably the passage on the pyramids formed a separate paragraph in the model and was for some unknown reason not copied in the Jerusalem manuscript. Moreover, the preserved portion of the text, together with its picture, is incorrectly placed and taken over in the commentary to the homily *In Sancta Lumina* between the paragraphs on Dionysus (no. 4) and the head of Zeus (no. 5).

The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus is represented as a rectangular building, the front decorated with pilasters, and the top, seen from bird's-eye view, covered with a marble plaque. Under this plaque lies the corpse of King Mausolus, of whom only the head is visible wearing a jewel-studded crown like that of Byzantine emperors. On this substructure stands a rotunda in the shape of a ciborium, supported by four columns. The whole building is erected on an island, surrounded on all sides by water.

Our knowledge of the actual tomb of Mausolus is based chiefly on Pliny (*N.H.* XXXVI, 5 [4]) and the numerous modern reconstructions[92] rest on his description. According to Pliny the tomb consisted of three sections: a rectangular substructure, a *pteros* (or colonnade) of thirty-six columns, and a crowning pyramid. The building in the miniature, simplified as it is, has

[91] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1064.

[92] Cf. e.g., the most recent one by Fr. Krischen, *Die griechische Stadt*, Berlin 1938, pl. 37.

nevertheless preserved some of the essential features of Pliny's description: the rectangular substructure, the colonnade reduced to four columns, and, instead of the complicated pyramid of twenty-four steps, the domical termination. Now the Pseudo-Nonnus text gives not the slightest hint as to the shape of the tomb nor does it mention any detail which might have aided the miniaturist in rendering the Mausoleum in pictorial form. Therefore it seems not impossible that the miniature reflects, however vaguely, an archetype based on familiarity with the actual monument. But the relation may be even more direct. At the time the miniature was made, the Mausoleum was still standing, as we know from Eustathius, a writer of the twelfth century,[93] and therefore could have directly inspired a miniaturist of the Middle Byzantine period. That artists of that period were indeed capable occasionally of depicting contemporary buildings, without attempting to be exact, is known from the menologion of Basil II, cod. Vat. gr. 1613, in which representations of the Apostle Church, the basilica of the Studios monastery, and other buildings[94] presuppose a knowledge of the actual monuments in spite of far-reaching simplifications and a degree of abstraction like that observed in the miniature of the Mausoleum.

The picture of the Colossus of Rhodes is a different proposition. The actual monument of the huge bronze statue of Helios, which was executed by Chares of Lindus, survived its erection in about 290 B.C. only a short while and was already in 224 B.C. destroyed by an earthquake. Pliny (*N.H.* XXXIV, 7 [18]) describes only its ruins and whether in his time a pictorial tradition of the monument had still survived we do not know. Surely the illustrator of the Pseudo-Nonnus text had no ancient model at his disposal, since he obviously adopted a formula common in Byzantine painting wherever the statue of a pagan god had to be depicted. The miniature represents on top of a high column a nude male figure, holding a lance in one hand and a sword in the other. This rather stereotyped idol is erected, like the Mausoleum, on a small island, on which, beside the Colossus, stands a domed building, dwarfed by the enormous column.

What the representation of the pyramids may have looked like, is hard to say. As in the case of the Mausoleum, it is not entirely impossible that it contained some reminiscences of the actual monuments.

[93] *Comment. ad Il.*, ed. Lips., 1829, Λ 298.

[94] *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. VIII), Turin 1907, pls. 353 and 175.—Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, p. 31.

C. THE MINIATURES OF THE HOMILY *IN SANCTA LUMINA*

1. *The Birth of Zeus*

The long series of detestable pagan divinities, enumerated in the fourth and fifth paragraph of the *Oratio In Sancta Lumina* starts with the Birth of Zeus: "Our interests," says Gregory, "are not in the births and thefts of Zeus, the tyrant of the Cretans (though the Greeks may be displeased with such an epithet), nor in the noises of the Curetes and their clanging and dancing with weapons, which drowned out the wailing of a weeping god, so that he might escape his child-hating father. For it was disgraceful to make him weep as a child who was to be swallowed as a stone."[1] Pseudo-Nonnus treats the myth of the birth of Zeus with a considerable knowledge of classical sources as follows: "The theologians of the Greeks say that Zeus was an offspring of Cronus and that he was saved after his birth in the following way. Cronus, who was wedded to Rhea, used to take all the children to whom she gave birth and eat them, and since this happened over a long time, Rhea remained without children. When Rhea gave birth to Zeus she was afraid that this newborn babe might also perish the same way. Therefore she gave to Cronus a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes to swallow as if it were the newborn babe. But Zeus she carried to Crete and she placed the Curetes and Corybantes round the babe, so that they might dance and rattle and make their weapons resound and thus produce the greatest possible noise in order to conceal and drown the crying of the child, so that Cronus might not learn the hiding place of the infant and take and swallow it."[2]

All four manuscripts illustrate this passage in two scenes: the first depicts the moment in which Cronus is about to swallow the stone in swaddling clothes, offered to him by Rhea, and the second shows the child Zeus in a cradle surrounded by the musicians and dancers who produce the noise. In both Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts (figs. 36-37) the two phases of the episode are placed side by side on the same groundline, while in the two Gregory manuscripts (figs. 38-41) they are separated, framed, and placed in different writing columns. There can be no doubt that this miniature existed first in the Pseudo-Nonnus text and was transferred from there into the Gregory text, since it contains elements, like the figure of Rhea, mentioned only by Pseudo-Nonnus and not by Gregory.

Although the pictures of all four manuscripts go back to the same archetype, there are considerable variations among them. The left-hand scene of the Jerusalem miniature (fig. 36) depicts Cronus half nude in a scanty dress which leaves the thighs and the right shoulder bare and terminates in a piece

[1] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.

[2] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1065.

of drapery that suggests a fluttering mantle. The head is covered with what looks like a modius, but since among the male deities this attribute is due to Sarapis and Apollo Hieropolitanus, there is apparently some misunderstanding involved; and it will be noticed that this detail does not appear in any of the other miniatures. Rhea, who gives the stone to Cronus to swallow, wears a tight-fitting cap and is clad in a long garment and a mantle that leaves the right breast bare, thus characterizing her as the mother who had nursed in vain so many children. In the Vatican miniature (fig. 37) Rhea holds in both hands a much bigger stone in the shape of a babe, while Cronus uses only one hand. Moreover, with his mantle fluttering far behind, Cronus advances with a wide step toward Rhea, who likewise is represented in more vivid motion. Both lack headgears, but otherwise, as far as the damaged condition permits a judgment, they seem to be dressed similarly as in the Jerusalem miniature. In the Panteleimon manuscript Cronus, inscribed ὁ κρόνος (fig. 38),[3] is fully dressed in a long chiton and himation, and Rhea, inscribed ἡ ῥέα, wears a kind of fillet, held by crossed bands, and a garment that resembles a girdled peplos save that it uncovers one breast. In the Paris manuscript (fig. 40)[4] the scene is represented in mirror reversal: Cronus stands at the right, again fully clad and with disheveled hair, and he stretches his hands out toward the stone which Rhea, approaching from the left, has not yet handed over to him.

The very moment in which Rhea deceives Cronus with the wrapped stone is already represented on the marble base from Albano in Rome (fig. 42), the only monument from classical antiquity, as far as we know, which illustrates this myth in cyclic form.[5] Rhea is fully draped in a chiton and a mantle which is taken like a veil over her head, whereas Cronus, who is depicted enthroned in an attitude more characteristic of Zeus, is clad only in a mantle which leaves the upper part of the body free, but veils the head.

The difference in the attitude of Cronus, seated in the classical relief and standing in the miniatures, does not favor the assumption that both go back to the same archetype. Yet there are certain correspondences between the two which suggest that the miniaturists used, if not this, a somewhat similar classical representation as model. The Paris miniature, e.g. (fig. 40), is the only one which illustrates the offering of the stone before the actual swallowing, and in this point the scene agrees with the Albano relief. It seems there-

[3] E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York 1939, p. 76 and fig. 42.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 146 and figs. 135-136.

[4] Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, p. 55, interprets this scene incorrectly as Rhea entrusting the child Zeus to a servant.

[5] Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, p. 276 and pl. 66. The preceding scene shows Rhea reclining in labor.

fore likely that here the miniature preserved the classical tradition and that the actual swallowing is the interpretation of some Byzantine artist who wished to increase the perspicuity of the theme. In another detail the Jerusalem miniature (fig. 36) seems to have preserved, though misunderstood, a classical feature, namely the cap of Rhea, which is apparently to be derived from the veil of the classical Rhea type. Moreover, one might argue that in the same miniature the dignified attitude of Rhea is due to a classical model, and that the more agitated behavior in the corresponding miniatures resulted from the Byzantine illustrators' desire for increased activity. As far as Cronus is concerned, the long mantle he wears in the two Gregory miniatures (figs. 38 and 40) is comparatively more classical than the scanty dress in which he appears in the two other pictures and which makes him look like a wild man. On the basis of these comparisons it becomes clear that none of the four miniatures can be considered the best copy, but that each of them has preserved different traces of a classical model to the reconstruction of which the Albano relief offers considerable help.

The scene of the child Zeus among the Curetes poses a different problem. In all four miniatures the center of the composition is the newborn babe in a cradle. This motif is, of course, entirely unantique. How classical antiquity treated this theme we know once more from the Albano base; on its third side the child Zeus is represented, nourished by the goat Amalthea and surrounded by the Curetes who clash their shields and swords (fig. 43)[6] as described also in Pseudo-Nonnus. However, the Byzantine illustrators represent, not the Curetes with their weapons, but the Corybantes making noise. Similar types are represented in all miniatures, though varying in number and arrangement. In the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 36) five Corybantes are lined up: the first dances with cymbals in the hands, the second plays a viola, the third a drum, the fourth a transverse flute, and the fifth dances without an instrument. In the Vatican miniature (fig. 37) there are likewise five long-robed Corybantes, but in a different order. Though very damaged they still can be identified: the first is a viola player, the second is a drummer raising his drum stick, the third behind the cradle holds a rattle, the fourth dances with crotala in his hands, and the fifth dances with cymbals. The two Gregory miniatures reduce the number of the Corybantes and represent them as youths in short tunics. In the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 39) the first beats the drum, the second holds the cymbals, and the third plays the transverse flute, while in the Paris miniature (fig. 41) only the cymbalist and the drummer are repeated in reversed order. The Gregory text refers only to the

[6] In other classical monuments like the Campana reliefs, the child Zeus is simply sitting on the ground. Cf. H. v. Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit* (Die antiken Terrakotten, vol. IV, 2), 1911, pls. X, XXV, CXXXV.

Curetes so that the depiction of the Corybantes presupposes that the scene was taken over from an illustrated commentary of Pseudo-Nonnus in which the Corybantes also are mentioned.

If the miniaturists used for this second scene a classical model at all, they must have changed it, because the viola, to mention a detail, is not a classical instrument. On the other hand the transverse flute can be found in classical art,[7] and the cymbals and drums are especially characteristic for the cult of Rhea-Cybele, who herself was considered the inventor of these instruments. Thus we are dealing with an eclectic miniature in which the cradle and the viola constitute elements from a Byzantine tradition, while at least some of the Corybantes seem to be classical in origin. Why the miniaturist represented only Corybantes and no Curetes is hard to say. Perhaps the model available to him had only the Corybantes, or if it had both groups, he may have preferred to represent only those whose noise-making he thought could be most clearly pictorialized.

2. *Rhea and the Initiations in Her Cult*

"Nor are our interests," Gregory goes on to say, "in mutilations of the Phrygians and flutes and Corybantes and in how men behave in their madness around Rhea, performing the sacred rites of the mother of gods and being initiated into such mysteries as befit the mother of such gods."[8] Similar remarks were twice made by Gregory in the *First Invectiva contra Julianum*[9] and in both cases Pseudo-Nonnus had already commented on them.[10]

The Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture to this paragraph; the Vatican manuscript has both. The passage, which phrases the story somewhat differently from the two paragraphs in the *Invectiva*, reads: "In Phrygia was venerated the mother of the gods Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto, and Hera, being herself the wife of Cronus. Throughout Phrygia certain initiations took place in which the ecstatic, the consecrated, and the initiated, being out of their wits, cut themselves with swords, without perceiving the evil because of the derangement of their minds. And there were also those who played the flutes, inciting those who were mutilating themselves. Up to the present time there are in certain places Greeks who cut themselves thoughtlessly, being still ruled by the old habit."[11]

The miniature of the Vatican manuscript (fig. 44) represents two groups of worshippers of the mother of the gods. At the left two couples of warriors

[7] Cf. the Etruscan urn: G. Körte, *Urne etrusche*, vol. III, 1916, p. 199 and pl. CXXXIV, no. 1.

[8] *Migne, P.G. 36, col. 337.*

[9] Migne, *P.G.* 35, cols. 592 and 640.

[10] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 989 and 1016 (§5 and §59). The first paragraph is also in Westermann, Μυθόγραφοι, p. 388, no. LXXX.

[11] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 502 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

fight against each other with shields and lances. They are the Curetes, who in the Pseudo-Nonnus text are simply called the Phrygians. At the right are four Corybantes, so badly flaked that they can be made out only with difficulty. Like the Corybantes in the preceding miniature (fig. 37), they wear, with one exception, long garments. The first, next to the falling warrior, turns to the left and blows a long trumpet. Then follow two figures, partly overlapping each other: the one swings in the right hand a drumstick (visible near the head of the trumpeter), while the other, the only one in a short tunic, plays a lyre which he holds high up close to the nearly completely destroyed head. The difference in dress suggests that the lyre player was perhaps meant to represent Orpheus. The fourth figure dances toward the right and holds cymbals. The distinction between Curetes in short tunics and Corybantes in long garments goes back to classical antiquity. An incised marble plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (fig. 47)[12] represents as companions of Cybele and Attis a shield dancer in short tunic[13] and a cymbal player, partly overlapped by the throne of Cybele, in what at least seems to have been intended as the representation of a long garment. Since it is hardly likely that a Byzantine illustrator invented independently a distinction already made in classical antiquity, it is reasonable to assume that a classical model stands behind his types of noise makers, although they are considerably Byzantinized in detail.

It seems rather surprising that a representation of the venerated image, i.e. a cult statue of Cybele, is lacking in the Vatican miniature. But since it is depicted in the two Gregory miniatures, we can be quite confident that it existed in the archetype of Pseudo-Nonnus. In the Panteleimon codex, where it is inscribed ἡ ῥέα (fig. 45), it is rendered on a high column in the typical manner of pagan idols in Byzantine manuscripts. Yet the type of the goddess reveals that the miniaturist must have had some knowledge of the classical Cybele type, because the goddess holds the tympanum in her left hand (not too clearly visible in the photograph) and a branch in her right, both proper attributes of Cybele.[14] These attributes are not described in Pseudo-Nonnus, and therefore the illustrator could have learned about them only from a classical pictorial tradition. Four Curetes, this time nude, stand at the left of the column and mutilate themselves with knives. Already in the base from Albano (fig. 43) the Curetes are nude save for a mantle that falls down the back without covering any part of the body. This means that the nudity of the Curetes in the Panteleimon miniature may very well be a classical remi-

[12] P. Decharme, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire, s.v.* Cybèle, p. 1689 and fig. 2250.—O. Immisch, in Roscher, *M.L., s.v.* Korybanten, col. 1624 and fig. 3.

[13] Cf. also the Curetes in the Campana relief cited on p. 40 note 6.

[14] A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L., s.v.* Kybele, col. 1647, fig. 2 (coin of Faustina).

niscence and thus reflect a more original version than the Vatican miniature. A Byzantine feature, however, is their position—standing close together instead of dancing with their weapons. The Paris miniature (fig. 46) has only two Curetes, but they are actually dancing and therefore closer to the text and also to the classical pictorial tradition. The Corybantes are omitted altogether, apparently because of lack of space, while in the Panteleimon miniature they are restricted to a drummer and a cymbalist. It will be noticed that they correspond with the group of Corybantes who stand around the cradle of Zeus (fig. 39). Only the flute player is not repeated, again because of lack of space, an omission which is all the more disturbing since Pseudo-Nonnus mentions the flute in particular as the instrument inciting to mutilation.

Although all figures under consideration, Cybele, the Curetes, and the Corybantes, have certain features which point to the use of classical models, we are not certain whether the compositional scheme as a whole goes back to a classical representation of the veneration of the mother of the gods. The scheme of the Panteleimon miniature, with a statue of a high column and worshippers beneath on either side, occurs several times in this manuscript and seems to be a Byzantine formula, applied in a rather stereotyped manner.

3. *Persephone*

The denunciation of the cult of Rhea is followed in the Gregory text by that of Demeter: "Nor do we have anything like the rape of a maiden or the wandering of Demeter, or her intimacy with men like Celeus and Triptolemus and with dragons or the other things she did and suffered. For I feel ashamed to bring into daylight the nocturnal rite and to make a mystery of indecency. Eleusis knows these things and so do those who are silent and are the spectators of the sacred rites performed in silence."[15] Pseudo-Nonnus comments on this passage: "Demeter, being a goddess, gave birth to a daughter by Zeus who was called Kore or Persephone. Pluto loved her, carried her off and went down with her into Hades. Thereupon Demeter went around searching for Kore and, after long wanderings, came to Attica. The place where she arrived she called Eleusis, after the verb ἐληλυθέναι. Here she learned from Celeus and Triptolemus that Kore had been carried off by Pluto and was now in Hades. After the goddess learned this news, she made an end to her wandering. Repaying the men for their service she gave them seeds such as grain, barley, and pulse. Demeter is said to be also the guardian of spermatic fruits. But together with the seeds she gave them also dragons

[15] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.

and winged chariots so that they may go around and give grain and barley to all. Men had namely not yet learned to eat bread or to use grain, but were living a nomadic life. And she gave not only the grain but also the spermatic fruits, and she introduced the mysteries and taught what is needed to initiate and to be initiated. The initiation took place at night at Eleusis where a temple is dedicated to Demeter."[16] Pseudo-Nonnus then goes on to say something more about the mysteries.

While in the Jerusalem manuscript text and picture are lacking, the Vatican manuscript has both, though the miniature (fig. 48) is nearly completely flaked. Besides, it is badly disfigured by a childish hand which tried to outline the almost totally destroyed figures. This redrawing does not always coincide with the original and is therefore at times more irritating than useful. Even so, the few traces left permit a fairly exact visualization of the original composition. In the center one recognizes a quadriga the horses of which dash off toward the right drawing an elongated chariot of the typical Byzantine shape already seen in other miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus (figs. 2 and 20). The figure either standing on the chariot or ascending has been badly redrawn, particularly the face, and the long, bent arm holding the reins is thoroughly misleading. Traces of red color seem not to be part of an arm at all, and suggest that this whole section was misunderstood by the later restorer and that the red traces originally belonged to another figure which has otherwise now completely disappeared.

On the basis of the text we would expect this central group to represent the rape of Persephone by Pluto, as we know the scene from a great number of sarcophagi (fig. 49)[17] and other classical monuments. Unfortunately the miniature is so damaged that only one figure, presumably that of Pluto, is today recognizable; that of Persephone, traces of whose garment are perhaps to be seen in the remaining bits of red color, had probably already disappeared at the time of the crude redrawing. Consequently there is no way of telling how similar this composition may originally have been to that of the ancient monuments. Moreover, there is another difficulty in interpreting the central group as representing the rape of Persephone: there are only two animals drawing the chariot and these are oxen (their horns are discernible in the original), while according to the *Hymn to Demeter* the golden chariot of Pluto was drawn by speedy horses. The chariot drawn by oxen is most typical for Selene. The Assimilation of Persephone and Selene, however, is supported by a statement in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (XLIV, 191ff.) and by other writers,[18] so that it is difficult to say whether we have here a classical

[16] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1065.

[17] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, pp. 450ff. and pls. CXIX-CXXXI.

[18] Schwenn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Selene, col. 1143.

pictorial tradition otherwise lost or a misunderstanding by a Byzantine illustrator.

The central group is flanked on either side by three figures. At the left we see two persons standing quietly, the one at the extreme left touching with his arm the shoulder of the one next to him, whose arm has been badly redrawn. The third is more individualized and the only one identifiable. He is a youth in a short tunic with one knee bent as if walking toward the right and his head is turned back. With both arms outstretched he holds a brown vessel upside down, from which seeds fall to the ground. This figure is quite surely Triptolemus, who appears in a similar attitude on a sarcophagus in Wilton House (fig. 50),[19] where he stands on a dragon chariot and turns around to Persephone who says farewell to Demeter enthroned. However, the group of three on the sarcophagus cannot have been the model for the miniaturist, because Persephone's farewell before her return to Hades is not told in Pseudo-Nonnus. Who, then, are the two figures beside Triptolemus in the Vatican miniature? Pseudo-Nonnus tells how Demeter met Celeus and Triptolemus and asked for information about her lost daughter. Therefore we are inclined to interpret the two figures next to Triptolemus as Demeter and Celeus, though such a composition is not known to us in classical art. If our interpretation is correct, the figure at the left, who is more sumptuously clad, would be Demeter, and the central one Celeus turning around to her.

The three figures at the right are equally badly flaked. Of only the middle one (in spite of the irritating restored outline which deforms particularly the head) are enough traces of the original design left—the wings, the spike in one hand and the basket in the other—to permit an identification. The attitude of the other two is not discernible but they, too, seem to be winged and to carry spikes and they surely hold baskets. Obviously they represent, in the ancient number of three, the Seasons, who in the *Orphic Hymns* (28, 9; 42, 7) are among the companions of Demeter. Their association with Triptolemus occurs on red-figured vases[20] and also quite often on sarcophagi in connection with the rape of Persephone, where they are used in a rather decorative manner,[21] sometimes having wings as in the miniature. Moreover, in the Triptolemus sarcophagus from Wilton House (fig. 50), the Seasons, standing in front of the dragon chariot,[22] form an integral part of the scene just as in the miniature.

[19] Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 509 and pl. CXXXVI, no. 432.

[20] J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. II, Leipzig 1873-78, pp. 559ff., atlas, pl. XVI, nos. 13-15.

[21] Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 456, and sarcophagus in Florence, pl. CXX, no. 372.

[22] The figures, though correctly identified, are somewhat obscured in detail through false restorations. Cf. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 512ff.

The Paris manuscript has quite a different picture (fig. 51). A nude, bearded man emerges from a chasm which opens at the slope of a mountain, and he grasps the wrist of a woman who is approaching him. This gesture contradicts Omont's description of the scene: "Cérès cherche sa fille enlevée par Pluton."[23] Quite clearly the scene is meant to represent Pluto dragging Persephone down into Hades, though this does not quite fit the description by Pseudo-Nonnus, which reads "Pluto carried her off and went down with her into Hades." This phrase suggests rather a scene similar to that of the sarcophagi, showing the rape of Persephone by Pluto before the return with her to the lower world.

The Pluto emerging from the chasm bears a strong resemblance to a figure in the lower right corner of the Aachen sarcophagus (fig. 49) who is explained by Robert as *janitor orci*. He emerges from the ground in front of the quadriga as if he were greeting Pluto and Persephone at the entrance of Hades. Furthermore, the attitude of Persephone in the miniature is not unlike that of the Persephone on the sarcophagi, who kneels down and picks flowers. In the Aachen sarcophagus (in front of the dragon chariot) she turns her head around, but in the other sarcophagi she looks straight ahead,[24] a further likeness to the woman in the miniature. Thus it seems to us quite probable that the miniaturist, who had not space enough for the full story, copied from his extensive model only two figures, which are not repeated in the Vatican miniature, and changed their original meaning. In this manner he invented a new scene of which only the types are classical and not the context.

4. *Dionysus*

Gregory continues: "Nor are we concerned with Dionysus and the thigh travailing with an unfinished embryo, as before a head had travailed with another birth; and with the effeminate god and the chorus of the drunken and the host let loose and the folly of the Thebans who honor him, and the thunderbolt of Semele which is worshipped."[25] Pseudo-Nonnus says of the birth of Dionysus: "Semele was the daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. Zeus, who loved her, had intercourse with her and therefore caused the jealousy and indignation of Hera, his wife. Thereupon Hera went to Semele and told her: 'Verily he deceived you; namely when he unites with me, he does it with lightnings and thunders. If, therefore, Zeus comes to you, ask him to have intercourse with you the same way he has with Hera. And if he does it with lightnings and thunders, then he is really Zeus, but if he does

[23] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[24] Cf. Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXIII, no. 382.

[25] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.

it in any other way, then he is not Zeus.' As Hera had predicted, when Zeus went to Semele, he was asked to unite with her as with Hera. Thereupon he did unite with her with thunders which Semele could not endure, and so she died. Zeus, then, quickly took the embryo from Semele's womb, placed it in his thigh and sewed it in, until nine months were completed. This was Dionysus, said to be an unfinished embryo, because the thigh of Zeus brought it forth."[26] In the rest of the paragraph Pseudo-Nonnus comments on Gregory's other remarks concerning the effeminacy of Dionysus, the drunken Satyrs and Sileni, the worship of the thunderbolt, and so forth.

In the Jerusalem manuscript the story is illustrated in three phases (fig. 52). In the first the half-nude Semele lies dead on a couch, with unseeing eyes, being struck by the thunderbolt which is indicated by rays hitting her head. Zeus, who in all scenes is nimbed and draped as a Byzantine emperor, kneels on the couch and removes the unfinished embryo from the womb of the dead mother. In the next scene Zeus sits on a chair, sewing the embryo into his thigh, and in the third he gives birth to the babe Dionysus. These scenes are placed in front of an architectural background consisting of three tower-like houses, with connecting walls and curtains in between. It has little organic relationship to the scenes since only two separate compartments are represented where one would expect three. The corresponding miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 53) is again badly flaked, but its general arrangement is, as one easily recognizes, more or less the same, although there are differences in detail. In the first scene Zeus, whose head has been redrawn, is not kneeling but standing on the ground behind the couch. His left arm is stretched out, but not touching Semele. Apparently the painter depicted a different moment of the episode, namely the approach of Zeus, before taking the embryo. Moreover, the scene is placed between two buildings of which the one at the right also has an entrance door with a curtain, but, contrary to the Jerusalem miniature, is related to this scene exclusively. The second scene represents Zeus enthroned, turned to the right and thus reversing the posture of the corresponding Zeus in the Jerusalem miniature. Although the gestures of his hands are no longer determinable, it is safe to assume that he is engaged in sewing the embryo into the thigh. He sits in front of a building which is higher and clearly separated from the one that belongs to the preceding scene. The third scene is nearly entirely destroyed. This is all the more deplorable since its deviations from the Jerusalem miniature are greater than in the other two. The only clearly recognizable detail is the pair of hands, raised upward, that must belong to Zeus in his throes. Perhaps Zeus was not sitting on a throne but lying on a couch, placed

[26] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1068.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 385, no. LXXI.

diagonally, and leaning against the building. But this is by no means sure and nothing more can be said about the almost totally vanished picture.

The first and third scene, i.e. the death of Semele and the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of Zeus, are represented as successive scenes of a cycle of the youth of Dionysus on several lids of Roman sarcophagi, the best of which is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 55).[27] The death of Semele occurs on these sarcophagi in two different versions, illustrating two successive moments. In the first, represented by a sarcophagus in Zagreb (fig. 54),[28] Zeus approaches the sleeping Semele from behind the couch and throws the thunderbolt against her, and in the second, of which the Baltimore lid is the best example, the Ilithyiae perform the task of securing the embryo from the dead Semele. The Jerusalem miniature can be explained as a conflation of these two phases: Zeus approaches Semele and simultaneously performs the task of an Ilithyia. This realistic representation of Zeus in the very act of himself saving the embryo is clearly a Byzantine transformation of the classical concept of the scene in which the Ilithyiae perform that task, one of them holding the newborn babe already in her hands. The more realistic interpretation in the Jerusalem miniature is probably due to the illustrator's desire to follow faithfully the Pseudo-Nonnus text. The Vatican miniature, in which Zeus does not yet touch Semele (fig. 53), is closer to the classical concept as represented in the Zagreb relief, although the type of Zeus is not the same. In the sarcophagus he throws the thunderbolt; in the miniature he rushes forward, like an Ilithyia, to the assistance of Semele. This type of Ilithyia may be seen in a fresco from the Domus Aurea, today preserved only in an engraving (fig. 56).[29] It seems, thus, quite likely that the Zeus of the Vatican miniature is the transformation of a classical Ilithyia, preserving her posture and gestures, and the whole miniature, then, from the formal point of view, forms a link between the classical model and the Jerusalem miniature which is further removed from it. Moreover, the Jerusalem miniature, too, has certain features in common with the fresco of the Domus Aurea: in both, Semele is half nude (on the sarcophagi she is fully clad), and the curtains hanging between the towers in the miniature correspond to those in the fresco.

[27] To these sarcophagi and the iconography of the birth of Dionysus in general, cf. H. Heydemann, *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (10. Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm), Halle 1885.—H. Philippart, "Iconographie des bacchantes d'Euripide," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, IX, 1930, p. 5ff. —A. Greifenhagen, "Kindheitsmythos des Dionysos," *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 27ff. and pls. 1-2. —G. Hanfmann, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 229ff. and figs. 1-3.—K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore 1942, pp. 12ff. and fig. 7.

[28] Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, p. 231 and fig. 2 (here further bibliography).

[29] L. Mirri, *Vestigia delle Terme di Tito,* Rome 1776, pl. 17. Text by G. Carletti, *Le antiche camere delle Terme di Tito*, p. XLVII.

The seated Zeus, too, who first sews in the embryo and then delivers the babe, is paralleled in the sarcophagi (fig. 55) with the difference that on the latter the delivery is assisted once more by an Ilithyia. It is quite characteristic of the miniaturist's approach to have omitted the Ilithyia, since they are not mentioned by Pseudo-Nonnus. Zeus, therefore, in the miniatures, instead of leaning upon his scepter and against the back of the chair while Ilithyia performs her task, is forced, without the midwives, to do everything himself, and this accounts for the change in his attitude. Moreover, the transformation of the half-nude god into a Byzantine emperor is one of those persistent changes we have met and shall continue to meet in every miniature where a classical divinity occurs. Thus it becomes clear that most alterations we have described so far were apparently intentional adaptations toward greater fidelity to the Pseudo-Nonnus text.

The connection between the ancient model and its Byzantine copy, already obscured in the two miniatures described above, is thoroughly obliterated in the miniatures of the Panteleimon and the Paris manuscripts, in which only the third scene is represented, i.e. the delivery of the babe. In the former (fig. 58), in which the figures are inscribed ὁ ζεύς and ὁ διόνυσος, Zeus sits frontally on a richly ornamented, lyre-shaped throne, clad in the imperial vestments of the Middle Byzantine period, as indicated by the loros over his shoulders. He touches the shoulder of the babe who emerges from his leg rather than his thigh with raised hands and an imploring glance. In the Paris miniature (fig. 57) the "emperor" Zeus is draped merely in a tunic and he points to the babe at his left, whose head only has come forth from the leg. The typical conventional buildings frame the picture.

The Panteleimon miniature adds a second scene (fig. 58) which, although related to the Semele story, illustrates exactly neither the Gregory nor the Pseudo-Nonnus texts, and for this reason probably never existed in the latter. It represents the worshipping of a Semele statue, inscribed ἡ σεμέλη, by two groups of riders. Gregory mentions only the worship of the thunderbolt, and not of the goddess herself. The statue is fully draped and holds a branch in her right hand, while her chief attribute, the crescent, is missing. This idol is depicted in the conventional Byzantine manner of pagan divinities and obviously has no classical ancestry. The whole picture is obviously a Byzantine invention, and the group of worshipping riders seems to be copied from another Byzantine miniature, perhaps a Christian one. Such groups of riders occur frequently in the Octateuchs, the Book of Kings, and other Biblical manuscripts.

The history of the picture of the birth of Dionysus offers one of the most striking examples of Byzantine versatility in transforming classical compositions into mediaeval ones.

5. *The Head of Zeus*

It may be recalled that Gregory, in telling of the thigh of Zeus travailing with an unfinished embryo, had added: "as before a head has travailed with another birth." Pseudo-Nonnus, recognizing in this parallel an allusion to the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, comments on this myth: "The head of Zeus was in travail, as also Homer tells us, because it had Athena in it. It is namely said that Athena was born out of the head of Zeus. Travailing there, Zeus took Athena out of his head, being aided by Hephaestus with the axe, and thus he gave birth to her."[30] The text in the Jerusalem, and also the Princeton, manuscript then closes with a reference to the more detailed paragraph in the commentary to the *II Invectiva contra Julianum*,[31] which is based on a similar remark of Gregory about Athena's virginity.[32] Since the Pseudo-Nonnus paragraph quoted above explains only one of the two scenes in the miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 59), we have to consult the corresponding paragraph to the *Invectiva* for the explanation of the other. It reads: "When Zeus wanted to bring forth Athena out of his head, he asked for someone who would assist in striking his head with little pain, so that he could give birth to her; and he spoke about it to Hephaestus. But Hephaestus agreed to split the head of Zeus only under the condition that after her birth he could deprive her of her virginity; and this Zeus promised. Thereupon Hephaestus took the axe, split the head of Zeus, and out of it came Athena. Hephaestus pursued her, so that he might unite with her. . . ."

The miniature in the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 59) has the two phases of the episode represented side by side, while in the Vatican one an empty interstice reminds us of the fact that its model, too, had a miniature of this subject. In the left-hand scene Zeus, dressed in an embroidered tunic, sits in front of a house and his hands rest on his thighs in an attitude that suggests the pangs of labor. Out of his head emerges Athena, crowned like a Byzantine empress and at the same time holding a lance and a shield, her proper attributes. In front of Zeus stands Hephaestus, who holds in his left hand a long-handled, double-headed axe and raises his right in a gesture of speech as if demanding from Zeus his reward. He is bearded like Zeus and clothed in a similar short tunic with a golden border.

This much of the miniature can be explained by the Pseudo-Nonnus text accompanying the picture, but for the other half of the miniature we have to rely on the parallel paragraph in the *Invectiva*. We see Hephaestus running after Athena, who is dressed in a long garment and holds the same attributes as in the birth scene. But now Athena is fully grown, and flees before He-

[30] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

[31] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1049, no. 27.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 359, no. III.

[32] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 705.

phaestus, toward whom she turns her head. As has been said, this part of the miniature can be explained only from the commentary to the *Invectiva*. There is a possibility, then, that that commentary, too, was originally illustrated and that the scene of Athena's pursuit was taken over from it into the commentary to the homily *In Sancta Lumina*.

The birth of Athena is already quite frequently represented on black- and red-figured vases. Schneider distinguishes four classes, only the first of which shows Athena actually emerging from the head of Zeus as in the miniature.[33] It is worth noting that nowhere in classical art is the actual splitting of the head of Zeus by Hephaestus represented, and in this respect the miniature follows the classical concept. No monument of the Hellenistic-Roman period seems to have survived with a representation of Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, and a gem with that subject, which resembles the miniature more closely than the archaic vases, is considered a fake.[34] Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that a connecting link with the Hellenistic-Roman period is missing, an archaic vase in London (fig. 60)[35] has certain features in common with the miniature, namely the attitude of Zeus in travail, the type of Athena armed with her proper attributes, and the type of Hephaestus in the short tunic and with the long-handled double-headed axe. However, the attitude of Hephaestus is different, since in most vase paintings he is about to leave the scene, although there is no fixed type in archaic art.[36] In vase paintings Zeus is usually assisted by one or two Ilithyiae, but the Byzantine miniaturist, in accordance with the preceding scene of the birth of Dionysus, omitted the midwives, since they are not mentioned in the Pseudo-Nonnus text. But the Ilithyiae are omitted from some vases, too,[37] so they were not necessarily in the model of the miniature.

That classical antiquity also represented the pursuit of Athena by Hephaestus we know from Pausanias, who saw this scene on the throne of Amyclae (III, 18, 13). Moreover, this theme seems to be the subject of a fragmentary archaistic relief from the temple of Faustina in Rome (fig. 61).[38] Here Hephaestus, with the double-axe over his shoulder, has grasped the end of Athena's garment. Reisch first interpreted the scene as the pursuit of Athena,[39]

[33] R. Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena* (Abhdlg. des archäol.-epigr. Seminars der Universität Wien), Vienna 1880, p. 8.

[34] E. Gerhard, *Arch. Ztg.*, VII, 1849, p. 50 and pl. VI, no. 1.—Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[35] Cf. Ch. Lenormant-J. de Witte, *Élites des monuments céramographiques*, vol. I, Paris 1844 and pl. LXI.—H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Black-Figured Vases in the British Museum*, London 1893, no. B218.—*Corp. Vas. Ant.*, Great Britain fasc. 5, British Museum fasc. 4, London 1929, pl. 53, no. 2b.

[36] Cf. Lenormant, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII where Hephaestus stands quietly behind the throne of Zeus.

[37] Lenormant, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI.

[38] Arndt-Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, no. 818.

[39] *Österr. Jahresh.*, I, 1898, p. 83.

and, although the lower parts of the bodies are broken away, his identification seems to be correct.[40] But beyond the subject matter as such there is no similarity of types between the relief and the miniature. On the other hand, the Athena of the miniature is paralleled in ancient art on the relief of a puteal in Madrid (fig. 62),[41] where she is represented in a very similar attitude, looking backward and holding a shield in her left hand, while the right, now broken away, probably originally held the lance. In this relief Athena looks back to Zeus and not to Hephaestus. But in the so-called Neo-Attic reliefs to which the puteal in Madrid belongs, the artists often copy single types, instead of a complete composition, from earlier classical models and rearrange them. This relief, then, may be merely a conflation of two scenes, i.e. of Athena's birth and her pursuit, in which the figure of Hephaestus has been dropped.

6. *Aphrodite and Her Shameful Mysteries*

Next Gregory mentions briefly the birth of Aphrodite: "Nor are we concerned with the meretricious mysteries of Aphrodite who is said to have been shamefully born and honored,"[42] on which Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "Aphrodite is said to have been born from the privy parts of Uranus. Cronus namely, the son of Uranus, is said to have taken a sickle with which he cut off the privy parts of his own father throwing them into the sea; and where they fell and drew together foam, they brought forth Aphrodite. Therefore she is called Aphrodite because she was born out of the foam and immersion, and there is a phrase 'shamefully born and honored.' Likewise are her cults and her festivals celebrated with shamefulness, lust, and fornication, as if Aphrodite herself were the guardian of fornication."[43]

The Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture of this passage; the Vatican one has both. But the miniature (fig. 63) is so poorly preserved and large parts of it are so completely flaked, that an exact description of all its details is no longer possible, though the general lay-out of the composition can still be ascertained. Obviously two phases of the episode are depicted. At the left one can make out a semi-nude person whose knees are bent as if walking toward the right and whose red mantle flutters from behind his shoulder. He stretches out both arms and in one hand he holds an instrument of which only the handle is visible. The arms reach into the center of a segment of sky in which one faintly recognizes a figure in horizontal position whose arms are stretched forward toward the right. In spite of the

[40] His opinion, however, is not shared by all scholars. The text to Arndt-Amelung describes the relief simply as a part of a procession of the gods. But this leaves the motif of the grasping of the garment of Athena unexplained.

[41] Schneider, *op. cit.*, pl. I, no. I.—Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 1724-29.

[42] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.

[43] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

damaged condition the subject of this scene is certain: the figure approaching from the left is Cronus who cuts off with the sickle the privy parts of Uranus, the figure suspended in the segment of sky. The exact posture of Uranus is not clear except that his head must have been at the right.

As far as we know there is no illustration of this theme preserved in classical art, and it remains doubtful whether antiquity ever depicted the castration of Uranus in such a realistic manner. But even if one did exist, we would expect it to have been treated differently and surely not with an Uranus floating inside the celestial sphere as in the miniature.

The second scene of the Vatican miniature shows traces of a pond surrounded by a ragged shoreline. In this respect it resembles the better-preserved miniature in the Paris manuscript (fig. 64), which therefore can be dealt with as a substitute for the nearly vanished Vatican picture. In the Paris miniature the birth of Aphrodite from the foam is illustrated by a fully dressed goddess swimming in the sea with arms outstretched, while the privy parts of Cronus fall down from a segment of sky into the sea. In the originally more complete Vatican miniature there can be recognized, near the left shoreline, a figure with bent knees and fluttering red mantle, very similar to that of Cronus in the first scene, except that the left arm touches the forehead of the completely redrawn face. In all likelihood this figure represents Cronus again, probably in the act of throwing the privy parts of Uranus into the sea, although such an interpretation must remain hypothetical. Of the swimming Aphrodite nothing but a few spots of flesh color are visible today. The same is true for the privy parts suspended above the pond, which a later restorer, after they had become thoroughly flaked, no longer recognized and mistakenly redrew as a human face.

The common iconography of the birth of Aphrodite in classical art is the type of the Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη, who usually is represented either standing or crouching on a shell. But there is another tradition according to which Aphrodite swims in the sea, as in the fresco from the Domus Aurea in Rome, now destroyed and preserved only in an engraving (fig. 65).[44] It seems therefore very likely that the Byzantine miniaturist drew upon a classical model for the swimming Aphrodite, altering it only by the addition of drapery. But how far many of the other features of the Vatican miniature go back to a classical source, remains an open question.

The Panteleimon manuscript contains an illustration of Aphrodite (fig. 66), which from the formal point of view is without any relation to those analyzed above. The narrative scenes illustrating the myth are replaced by

[44] J. P. Bellori, *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum*, Rome 1791, p. 89 and pl. VII.—O. Benndorf, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, p. 64 and pl. II, where the relationship between this fresco and the description of a painting by Apelles is discussed.

a ritual representation. The goddess, inscribed ἡ ἀφροδίτη, stands on a column holding a branch in her right hand, as Semele does in another miniature of the same manuscript (fig. 58). Her bare breast is the only sign of an individualization; otherwise the figure is a stereotyped idol without a classical pedigree. The two groups of youths who worship the statue are likewise Byzantine, and the composition as a whole follows a common mediaeval pattern for the worship of pagan divinities.

7. *The Phalli of Dionysus*

"Nor are we concerned," Gregory inveighs, "with the phalli and ithyphalli, shameful in form and action."[45] Likewise in the *First Invectiva* Gregory ridiculed the phalli and ithyphalli[46] and Pseudo-Nonnus commented on them already in that place.[47] This is apparently one of the reasons why the Jerusalem manuscript omits text and picture of this paragraph. But the Vatican and the Princeton manuscripts repeat a passage on the phalli, though worded somewhat differently from the previous commentary: "On the feast of Dionysus the Greeks put leathern phalli before their privy parts in order to honor Dionysus. Others had the phalli hanging from their necks and again others fastened them around the loins, imitating the erect membrum. They did this in order to honor the lover Dionysus. A youth, namely, is said to have been in love with Dionysus and, before the licentiousness took place, was drowned in the Lerna and died. Dionysus, wishing to commemorate the deceased youth, hung a phallus from the wood of a fig tree around his neck, and for this reason the Greeks girded themselves with phalli, in order to honor Dionysus."[48]

The content of this paragraph is twofold: first it describes in general the use of phalli in the cult of Dionysus, and secondly it narrates the myth of Prosymnus, or Polymnus, as the beloved of Dionysus is also called. It was he who showed Dionysus the entrance into the lower world and died before the god came back. Therefore Dionysus was unable to fulfill his promise to the youth and so had the phallus carved.

No miniature is preserved to this paragraph, though in the Vatican manuscript a space was provided for a picture which was not executed. Therefore we do not know whether the illustrator of the archetype had the picture made up from the first or the second part of the story or perhaps from both. Either one would have been within the realm of subject matter pictorialized by the illustrators of Pseudo-Nonnus, who depicted the worship of cult statues as well as mythological stories. Representations with the display of phalli

[45] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.
[46] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 601.
[47] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1005, no. 37.
[48] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 487 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

occur frequently in classical art and may have been easily available to a Byzantine illustrator. But whether the love story of Dionysus and Prosymnus was illustrated in classical antiquity, we do not know, since no representation of it, it seems, has come down to us.[49]

8. *The Slaying of Strangers by the Taurians*

On Gregory's mention of the "slayings of strangers by the Taurians,"[50] Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "The Taurians are, as Herodotus says, a Scythian tribe. In their country was a temple of Artemis in which Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was a priestess. In this temple every man who came as a stranger was sacrificed to Artemis."[51] At the end of this paragraph Pseudo-Nonnus refers once more to another and fuller account of the story in the commentary to the *First Invectiva*,[52] based on Gregory's reference to the Taurian slayings in that homily.[53] The fact that that account is more elaborate may explain why an abbreviated version of the story was considered sufficient here.

The Panteleimon manuscript is the only one with a picture related to this paragraph (fig. 66). Its compositional scheme, and even the types of the goddess (inscribed ἡ ἄρτεμις) and the worshippers standing at either side of the column that bears the idol, are nearly identical with those of the miniature above. At the lower right corner, however, outside the picture frame, a group of three youths is added. On the basis of their unseeing eyes they may be interpreted as the strangers slain and sacrificed in the presence of the image of Artemis. This group makes it certain that the miniature must be related to the ξενοκτονία of the Taurians; otherwise the picture could be connected with Pseudo-Nonnus' next paragraph, which also deals with the Artemis cult.

It is quite possible that the Panteleimon miniature, like the Aphrodite picture above, merely replaces a narrative scene which originally accompanied the Pseudo-Nonnus text. Such a miniature may have represented Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia, based on the fuller text of the paragraph in the *Invectiva*, which describes the attempted sacrifice of Orestes, his recognition by Iphigenia, and the flight of both. Unfortunately the Vatican manuscript once more has an empty interstice, wide enough to have accommodated easily a larger narrative composition. The transference of a

[49] For attempts to identify Prosymnus on some ancient monuments such as a bronze situla and vase paintings compare O. Jahn, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1845, p. 361, tav. d'agg. M, and J. de Witte, *Gaz. Arch.*, VII, 1881-82, p. 9 and pls. 1-2. However, these identifications were with good reasons rejected by other archaeologists.

[50] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337.

[51] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

[52] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 989, no. 7.

[53] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 592.

fuller miniature from one commentary into the other would not be without precedent as we have seen in the paragraph about the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (p. 50 and fig. 59). The Jerusalem manuscript once more has neither text nor picture to this paragraph.

9. *The Scourges of the Laconians*

Along with the slaying of strangers by the Taurians, Gregory mentions: "The Laconian youths whose blood is shed upon the altar and who are scourging themselves with whips and, coming to manhood only in this bad way, are honoring a goddess and she a virgin. For these same youths honored effeminacy and worshipped boldness."[54] The Vatican and the Princeton manuscripts have paragraphs commenting on this Laconian cult,[55] but not the Jerusalem manuscript, probably because, as on similar occasions, Pseudo-Nonnus had already twice commented on similar allusions of Gregory in the *First Invectiva.*[56] However, unlike the earlier instances, the paragraph of the commentary to the *Oratio In Sancta Lumina* is more detailed than those to the *Invectiva.* It reads as follows: "The Laconians, trained in perseverance, made a festival in which they scourged each other and educated themselves for manhood so that they would be manly in wars. At the festival of the scourging the Laconians honored Artemis, who is said to have been a mighty virgin to whom fear and passion were unknown. It is also said that the Laconians esteemed softness as well as boldness and that they had a certain festival which was called συσσιτία, i.e. public mess, where all ate together, feasted sumptuously, and became enervated by indulging passionately in pederasty, as Pausanias had done with his favorite boy from Argilus. And they worshipped boldness in regard to perseverance and manliness and to the bravest they gave a prize. Truly Artemis, the virginal and chaste goddess, all the same delighted in the blood of the strangers slain on the altars."

In the badly flaked miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 67), the only one preserved, it is at least clear that there are three different scenes. The one in the middle represents two single combats. The first figure at the left swings a rod or club against his adversary who, already defeated, is kneeling on the ground and bleeding heavily from the neck. The second attacker approaches from the left with his sword thrust forward against an opponent who is trying to defend himself with a shield in the right hand and a lance in the left. This scene and the one at the extreme right illustrate Pseudo-Nonnus' remark about the manly behavior of the Laconians in wars. In the latter one can see a rider piercing with his lance a fleeing enemy who falls, bleeding

[54] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 337. [55] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 508 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

[56] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 992, no. 11, and col. 1016, no. 58.

heavily and head foremost, from a stumbling, saddled horse. The head of the attacker has been redrawn and a nimbus added. The victorious rider unsaddling his enemy is a rather conventional scheme in classical antiquity for which no specific parallels need be cited.

In the third scene, at the left, are two persons sitting opposite each other in front of small buildings and raising their hands in a gesture of speech. The one on the left with a crested helmet is apparently the more distinguished of the two; the one at the right is seated on a footstool and rests his left hand on a red cushion. On the basis of the Pseudo-Nonnus text the helmeted warrior might be identified as Pausanias, the great Spartan general, in which case the other figure would be the Argilian youth.[57] However, this interpretation is admittedly unsatisfactory. First of all, the figure at the right wears a long dress and therefore may be a woman. Furthermore, a literal illustration of the Pseudo-Nonnus text would more probably have shown the intimate friendship between Pausanias and the Argilian youth, and not a mere discussion, although we have seen other illustrations that did not follow the text too closely, particularly when the compositional scheme was drawn from another model. Finally, if the proposed interpretation were correct, the scene would be out of sequence, since in Pseudo-Nonnus the story of Pausanias and the Argilian follows the scourging and warring of the Laconians and therefore should be at the extreme right.

10. *Tantalus and Pelops*

"Where will you place the butchery of Pelops which feasted hungry gods, and the bitter and inhuman hospitality?"[58] With these words Gregory opens a new series of attacks upon contemptible pagan deities and cults. Gregory's *First Invectiva* already contains a reference to the butchery of Pelops[59] which was commented on by Pseudo-Nonnus in a paragraph to this homily.[60] The Jerusalem manuscript avoids the repetition of a paragraph for the homily *In Sancta Lumina*, but not the Vatican and the Princeton manuscripts, which are always alike in this respect. Here we read: "Pelops was the son of Tantalus by whom the gods were entertained as guests; in his desire to feast them he sacrificed his own son and, after having him boiled, served him to the gods. Then the gods, moved by admiration as well as pity for Tantalus, collected the parts of Pelops' body, reconstituted them and thus brought him to life. And so he lived again. But one of the gods, said to be Demeter,[61]

[57] For Pausanias and the Argilian youth, cf. Thucydides I, 132, and Nepos, Paus. IV, 1.

[58] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[59] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 592.

[60] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 989, no. 4 and 38, col. 476 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 380, no. LVII, 1.

[61] According to the Princeton text it was Ge.

ate from the shoulder. When they put the body together again, they placed a piece of ivory into his shoulder, and so the revived child had an ivory shoulder. The Pelopidae can be recognized by the shoulder, since all descendants have a part of the shoulder made from ivory."

The Vatican manuscript shows only an empty space for a miniature not executed, but the two Gregory manuscripts have an illustration, based upon, and taken over from, the Pseudo-Nonnus text. The Panteleimon miniature (fig. 68) represents the feasting gods, who are all seated behind the table and facing the spectator. They are inscribed around the upper frame: ὁ ζεύς, ἡ ἀθήνα, ἡ ἀφρο(δίτη), ἡ δημήτηρ, ἑρμῆς, ἄρ(ης), καὶ ἡ ἄρτεμις. Thus Demeter, the goddess who ate the shoulder, sits in the center. They are all clad in richly embroidered garments of Byzantine fashion and wear crowns, while Tantalus, inscribed ὁ τάνταλο(ς), is dressed in a chlamys and wears a golden diadem. He approaches the gods from the left and places in the center of the table a huge golden vessel in which the cut up limbs of Pelops, inscribed πέλοψ, are visible.

We do not know of any representation of this theme in classical art, and there is nothing in the miniature to indicate classical ancestry. Even so, the possibility that a classical model has been transformed beyond recognition cannot entirely be excluded, though it seems more likely, as far as the compositional scheme is concerned, that the miniaturist was inspired by a Christian miniature. In illustrated manuscripts of the Book of Job, e.g. the Early Christian one on Patmos,[62] one finds a scene in which the sons and daughters of Job are grouped behind a semicircular table in a very similar manner and in which a youth is serving them in an attitude comparable to that of Tantalus.

The corresponding miniature in the Paris manuscript (fig. 69) is simplified and the number of gods is reduced to three. They are bare-headed and clad in plain tunics, while only Tantalus wears the chlamys and a pearl-studded crown.

11. *Hecate*

Gregory's allusion to "the terrible and obscure specters of Hecate"[63] is explained by Pseudo-Nonnus in the following words: "According to the Greeks Hecate is said to be a goddess; some considered her identical with Artemis, others with Selene, and again others believed her to be a goddess in her own right who appeared in strange specters to those invoking her. Her specters are those of dragon-headed men, exceedingly tall and big, so that the onlookers were terrified and frightened by her."[64]

[62] Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pl. LV, no. 327.

[63] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[64] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 487 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

In the miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 70) a frontal figure stands in the center which can represent only Hecate herself, although she is not standing on a column as cult statues in scenes of veneration in other miniatures usually do. Yet the fact that she is more than life-size and is the object of worship of a group of men at the left, makes her identification certain. She is draped in a long, embroidered garment with long sleeves, but does not hold any of her many attributes, such as torches, snakes, daggers, a paten, and so on, or wear the calathus on her head. This clearly indicates that the miniaturist had no classical model at his disposal. Of the worshippers, two are kneeling in the manner of the Byzantine proskynesis; a third, with raised arms, stands behind them; and two more are fleeing terrified at the sight of the goddess, as suggested by the text. On the other side of Hecate her specters are represented in the form of three persons with animal heads, the δρακοντοκέφαλοι of Pseudo-Nonnus. They, too, raise their hands as if they were paying tribute to Hecate. However, the heads are not those of dragons, which classical art usually pictorializes as serpents, but rather of doglike animals, with horns added to increase the fantastic appearance. Although the ancient sources allude to all kinds of specters of Hecate, such as a mare, a cow, a lioness, or a dog,[65] the representational arts did not depict them literally, as far as we know.

In representing three κυνοκέφαλοι instead of the δρακοντοκέφαλοι which Pseudo-Nonnus mentions, the miniaturist chose not a pictorialized specter of Hecate but that type of cynocephali which we know from Ctesias (*Indica* 20-25) as having been an Indian tribe. Representations of them are known to us from Byzantine marble slabs[66] as well as English manuscripts of the so-called "Marvels of the East."[67] The earliest of the three Anglo-Saxon copies, London, Brit. Mus., cod. Cotton Vitellius A. XV, from about 1000 A.D., depicts a cynocephalus (fig. 73)[68] in tunic and chlamys, in this differing probably from the classical model where we would expect them to be nude.[69] The monstrous figure stands in a frontal position with the head turned in profile, similar to those in the Jerusalem miniature, and the horn behind the ears makes the connection between the two miniatures even closer. Apparently the representations in the Greek and Latin miniatures go ultimately back to the same source and this source was the Alexander romance of Pseudo-Callis-

[65] Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Hekate, col. 1894.

[66] J. Strzygowski, "Das Byzantinische Relief aus Tusla im Berliner Museum," *Jahrb. Preuss. Kunstslg.* XIX, 1898, pp. 57ff.

[67] M. R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford (Roxburghe Club), 1929.

[68] James, *op. cit.*, pl. fol. 100^r.

[69] In two later copies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, London, Brit. Mus. cod. Cotton Tiberius B. V, fol. 80^r and Oxford, Bodl. Libr. cod. Bodl. 614, fol. 38^v (cf. the plates in James, *op. cit.*) the cynocephalus is indeed nude.

thenes.[70] Although Herodotus, Pliny, and Aelian also describe the cynocephali, we believe Pseudo-Callisthenes to have been the most likely source, because this was one of the most popular illustrated texts in late classical and mediaeval times. We shall meet illustrations of Pseudo-Callisthenes later on in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript (figs. 108-109) and the ivories (fig. 250).

The miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 71) is much destroyed, but the few traces left leave no doubt that its composition is in the main the same as that in the Jerusalem picture, though it apparently contained a few more figures. At the right one can faintly but surely make out the same three cynocephali, and the figure next to them, whose head has been redrawn, we would expect to be once more Hecate, though her attitude is slightly different, for she extends her right arm instead of raising the left. On the other side of Hecate there was first a receding figure whose head has likewise been redrawn. Then there are three figures which have almost completely disappeared; of these the two nearest to the center surely turned to the left, like the one with the redrawn head. Finally, at the extreme left are two youths in short tunics, turned to the right. Whether they were all worshippers or whether there was a second scene in this half of the miniature is impossible to make out.

The Paris miniature (fig. 72) is but an abbreviation: the number of cynocephali is reduced to two and they are placed on the same side as the single worshipper, who turns away with a horrified gesture. Hecate, although standing on a column as usually idols do in our miniatures, is not derived from an ancient Hecate type. Her attributes, a branch and a tympanum, are typical for Cybele, and the figure is thus only an exact repetition of the Rhea-Cybele in figures 45-46.

12. *Trophonius*

After the specters of Hecate, Gregory enumerates a series of famous oracles of which he mentions as the first "the subterranean performances and oracles of Trophonius."[71] Pseudo-Nonnus, having commented already on this subject in the commentary to the *First Invectiva*,[72] repeats the story in the following words: "Trophonius and Agamedes were two brothers, diviners by profession. One of them, Trophonius, was filled with such vainglory that he imagined he was invisible, and believing that he would be carried off to the gods, he hid in a cave and vanished. But the gods are said to have pitied the place where he had vanished and distinguished it by an oracle. And they went down to the cave and instituted certain mysteries so that they might

[70] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 137 and fig. 119.

[71] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[72] Migne, *P.G.* 35, cols. 581 and 36, col. 988, no. 1.

give oracles. It is said that whoever went in this cave remained forever without a laughter."[73]

A miniature in the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 68) is inscribed outside its right-hand frame: *τὸ ἱερ(ὸν) τροφωνέ(ως) καὶ ἀγαμήδου*. But the picture does not agree with the description of the cave oracle. Apparently the painter has placed by mistake a miniature representing the worship of two dolphins (cf. pp. 73-74) in the place that was intended for an illustration of the Trophonius oracle. Since the Vatican manuscript has only a blank space, and since furthermore no classical representation of the subject seems to have been preserved (and may never have existed),[74] we are unable even to suggest the character of the lost miniature.

13 and 15. *The Dodonaean Oak and the Castalian Spring*

The other oracles mentioned along with that of Trophonius are: "The prattlings of the Dodonaean Oak or the tricks of the Delphian Tripod or the prophetic water of the Castalian Spring. They could prophesy everything except their own silence."[75] Each of the three oracles is explained by Pseudo-Nonnus in a special paragraph, of which the first reads as follows: "Dodona is a city in ancient Epirus. In it was an Oak, in the shadow of which Zeus is said to have rested and given oracles to those who desired them; and the oracles of this Oak were uttered by sounding motions. They were manifest to the prophets at that place because Zeus uttered them there through a woman."[76]

In both Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts this paragraph is illustrated. In the center of the better-preserved Jerusalem miniature (fig. 74) is a huge tree with a youth in a long tunic hidden in its branches; he kneels and pours water out of a jar into an open basin. A woman draws water out of the basin with a small cup while a group of elder men behind her raise their hands in gestures of astonishment. A building with a large open entrance frames the scene at the left. Though the Vatican miniature (fig. 75) is much destroyed, the few traces still left are distinct enough to make clear that the composition, except for minor deviations, is the same. Apparently the interstice prepared by the scribe was not high enough, so that the illustrator had to make considerable use of the upper and lateral margin. The building has been omitted and the tree has two tops, in the lower of which must have knelt the person with the vessel since traces of water flowing down into the basin can be discerned. The woman bending over the basin and the men—apparently only two—behind her agree likewise with the Jerusalem miniature.

The huge tree can easily be identified as the famous Oak and the woman

[73] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

[74] O. Gruppe, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Trophonios, col. 1270.

[75] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[76] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

as the priestess who utters the oracles. By showing her breast bare the painter apparently wanted to characterize her as a pagan figure although it is contrary to classical tradition for a priestess to be half nude. The people behind her, the men "who desired the oracle," form a stereotyped group similar to those found in various Biblical and other manuscripts of the Byzantine period. The building, if it is not merely a decorative filling, could be the temple of Zeus.

However, there is a difficulty in the interpretation of this picture: the flowing water, which is given so much emphasis, is not explained by the text passage quoted above. Also, the more extensive paragraph about the Oak of Dodona in the commentary to the *Second Invectiva*,[77] which is based on a similar remark by Gregory about the oracle of the Oak,[78] says nothing about the water. Pseudo-Nonnus tells first the story of the motions of the Oak and then adds that the oracle was disclosed by the sound made by a statue beating upon a cauldron with a wand[79]—but there is no mention of pouring water.

Gregory, as we have said, cites among other oracles that of the Castalian Spring, upon which Pseudo-Nonnus comments in the following words: "There is a Spring around Antioch over which Apollo presides. In this Spring an oracle was uttered by means of the overflow of water instead of a voice. No voice, namely, was heard, but only a certain murmur like a wind or an efflux of water, by which those who know and perceive these signs predict the future."[80] A somewhat differently phrased passage, based on an earlier statement by Gregory,[81] is in the commentary to the *Second Invectiva*: "There was a Spring in Daphne near Antioch over which Apollo is said to have presided and where prophecies and oracles were given by means of water to those who came. When somebody at that place prophesied, the water is said to have emitted certain motions and blasts of winds, from which the priests who were inspired by the Spring told what the demon wished."[82]

With the aid of these two passages the Jerusalem miniature becomes now understandable: the water flowing down into the basin is the Castalian Spring, and this motif has been conflated with the Dodonaean oracle. As a result of the conflation, the Spring seems, somewhat irritatingly, to issue from a tree. In order to suggest in the best way possible the sound made by the flowing water, the painter has represented it as flowing from a great height into the metal basin. The figure in the tree may be interpreted as the demon

[77] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 1044-45, no. 19.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 369, no. XXIV.

[78] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 704.

[79] A. B. Cook, *The Gong at Dodona, Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 5ff.

[80] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1069.

[81] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 704.

[82] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1045, no. 21.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 374, no. XXXVI.

mentioned in the commentary to the *Invectiva*. If this is correct, we must assume that the miniature was invented for the latter text, which alone mentions the demon. This, then, would be further evidence that there must have been illustrations for this commentary, too—a suggestion already made in connection with the illustration of the birth of Athena and the slaying of strangers by the Taurians (pp. 50 and 55).

It is reasonable to assume that the first illustrated Pseudo-Nonnus had two separate pictures, one representing the Dodonaean Oak and the other the Castalian Spring, and that the conflation of the two was made in some later copy. A blank space left in the Vatican manuscript reinforces the suggestion that there was indeed a separate picture for the Castalian Spring. Presumably the compositional schemes of the two oracle pictures were much alike, and this may account for the conflation. Not a single feature in this miniature indicates dependence on an ancient model, and we know of no representation in ancient art either of the oracle of the Dodonaean Oak or of the Castalian Spring which might have inspired the Byzantine illustrator.

Now, the same conflated composition, which in the Pseudo-Nonnus text follows the paragraph on the Dodonaean Oak, is repeated in the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 76) in the text of the still unedited homily of the Birth of Christ by John of Euboea (cf. p. 9), and here it illustrates the Castalian Spring, though not the one in Antioch, but the one in Delphi. The text read: "He (i.e. Philip) then ordered the Achaeans to be sent to Delphi where they might obtain an oracle about the war. And they went to the good-looking priestess at the Castalian Water.... who, being experienced in the prophecy, by means of the spring water, prophesied this. . . ."[83] The miniature represents the priestess in the same attitude as in the Pseudo-Nonnus miniature, i.e. bending over a metal basin and drawing water, though she is differently draped in a long garment with rich embroidery and long sleeves. The tree has two tops like that of the Vatican miniature, and in the lower one we see, as in the Jerusalem miniature, a figure pouring water, this time, however, bearded, nude, and seated instead of kneeling. The crowd behind the priestess is missing and its place is taken by the architecture which in the Pseudo-Nonnus miniature is behind the tree. On the left margin the priestess is represented again, speaking to the Achaeans, who form a group comparable to the onlookers in figure 74.

The very fact that the same scene is used in the Pseudo-Nonnus text for the passage of the Dodonaean Oak and in the Birth homily of John of Euboea

[83] *ἔδοξε δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πέμψαι εἰς Δελφούς. Κακεῖ λαβεῖν χρησμὸν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου· ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς εὐωπίαν* [sic! The text of the cod. Mt. Athos, Esphigmenu 14 reads *εὐοπτίαν*] *τὴν ἱερείαν εἰς τὸ Κάσταλον ὕδωρ . . . ἥτις γευσαμένη τοῦ πηγαίου μαντικοῦ ὕδατος, προεφήτευσεν οὕτως. . . .*

as illustration of the Castalian Spring, not only justifies our assumption of the conflation of these two scenes, but seems to suggest that the illustrator of the Jerusalem manuscript was quite aware of the conflated nature of the picture.

14. *The Delphian Tripod*

Between the accounts of the Dodonaean Oak and the Castalian Spring Gregory had referred, it may be remembered, to "the tricks of the Delphian Tripod." A paragraph in Pseudo-Nonnus says: "Delphi is a city in Phocis and Phocis is a district of Greece. In Delphi was a sanctuary of Apollo in which Pythia lived and where a brazen tripod stood, from which oracles were uttered. Above the tripod was a brazen bowl, in which the prophetic pebbles leaped up whenever she looked at them. In this manner Apollo disclosed an oracle. The oracle of the tripod is said to prophesy about the three times, the past, the present, and the future."[84]

The Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture to this paragraph, but the Vatican manuscript has both, though its miniature is, as usual, much damaged (fig. 75). Once more the picture extends far into the margin to gain greater height than the scribe had prepared for the painter. In the margin we can discern a tripod supporting a bowl which is heated by open firebrands, and from the bottom of the bowl emerges a high column with a nude idol holding shield and spear. This structure is obviously a conflation; the tripod with the bowl and the column with the statue were originally two different objects which either stood side by side or behind each other as in figure 92. The figure upon the column, wearing a helmet, represents the Delphian Apollo as a conventional Byzantine idol. Five equally spaced figures stand at the left. The one next to the tripod, who stretches his arm toward the bowl, we would expect to be Pythia, though the miniature is too destroyed to decide whether the figure is male or female. The other four are apparently people who consult the oracle and raise their hands in prayer.

Once more a replica of this miniature exists in the Jerusalem manuscript in the homily of the Birth of Christ by John of Euboea (fig. 78) where it illustrates the following passage: "And they [i.e. the Achaeans] came to the temple of Apollo to inquire . . . and suddenly a voice from an invisible source was heard. After the tripod had turned three times, the prophetess uttered an oracle. . . ."[85] In the miniature we see the same conflation of the tripod with

[84] On the basis of Gregory's allusion to the Delphian Tripod in the *Second Invectiva* (Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 704) Pseudo-Nonnus had already written for that homily a paragraph on the same subject. Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1045, no. 20.—Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 384, no. LXVII.

[85] *Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ εἶπεν δεόμενοι· . . . καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐξῆλθεν φωνὴ ἀοράτως οὕτως· στραφεὶς ὁ τρίπους τριττὴν στρόφησιν προφήτης πυθμεύει. . . .*

a bowl over two open firebrands and the column with the Apollo statue on top of it. In front of this structure stands a priest—instead of the expected Pythia—holding a staff with which he stirs the pebbles in the bowl. The only onlooker stands in the entrance of a building the porch of which resembles a ciborium.

The appearance here of the same conflation of the tripod and the column with the idol proves the mutual dependence of the miniatures of the two different texts. Since the Pseudo-Nonnus text is more precise and explains more details of the miniature, it seems reasonable to assume that this and the preceding oracle scene of the Dodonaean Oak were composed for the mythographical commentary and taken over from there into the text of the homily on the Birth of Christ. But at the same time it must be emphasized that the painter who first illustrated the homily of John of Euboea was easily in a position to invent cult pictures of a similar character where he was unable to borrow a composition from an illustrated Pseudo-Nonnus. According to the text of the Birth homily the Achaeans consulted more oracles than are mentioned in Gregory's homilies and commented on by Pseudo-Nonnus, and these, too, were illustrated. There is, e.g., a representation of the sanctuary of Athena with the sacred loom (fig. 77) in which a priestess by the name of Xanthippe is prophesying. On the loom is a textile woven with a border containing a pseudo-Cufic inscription, and alongside it stands the priestess prophesying to the Achaeans just as the priestess of the Castalian Spring had done in the preceding miniature (fig. 76 at the left). Idols of the conventional Byzantine type on high columns frame the picture on both sides.

The comparison of the cult pictures in Pseudo-Nonnus with those in the Birth homily of John of Euboea shows quite clearly that they were conceived in the same spirit and with the use of similar artistic devices. This confirms once more our previous assertion that this type of cult picture is thoroughly Byzantine and without classical ancestry.

16. *The Prognosis from Sacrifices by the Magi*

"The sacrificial art of the Magi and their prognosis from incisions" follows next in Gregory.[86] Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "The Magi are said to have made their prognosis from the inspection of their sacrifices. By sacrificing and cutting up their victims they observed certain signs in the inner parts and the liver by means of which they predicted the future. The Magi from whom those who inspect the liver descend are Medians by race."[87]

The miniature in the Vatican manuscript (fig. 79 above) is much destroyed, the center, in particular, having entirely disappeared. Fully recog-

[86] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[87] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 619 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

nizable are only the two men at the left in short tunics, moving toward the right, the first having been largely redrawn by a later hand. Of the third figure, moving in the opposite direction, only the feet are visible. Perhaps he is one of the Magi telling the result of the prognostication to the two inquiring men approaching him. At the right, faint traces of an object resembling a couch are visible and behind it a figure with a fluttering mantle.

Fortunately the Paris manuscript contains a well-preserved miniature to this passage (fig. 80). Abbreviated as it is, it gives us a clear idea of at least the main part of the picture. Two Magi stand behind a corpse lying on what looks like a stone bench; one of them cuts with a knife under the ribs of the corpse while the other holds an object, supposedly the liver, to which he points with his left hand. The whole scene, except for the fact that it is placed in front of a mountain, looks more like a dissection performed by two physicians than a mythical prognostication, and it seems quite possible that the composition, for which the miniaturist could hardly have found a model in ancient art, is adapted from an illustrated medical treatise.

17. *The Astrology of the Chaldeans*

The next item in Gregory's list is "the astrology of the Chaldeans and their observation of births whereby they compare our lives with the movement of heavenly bodies which cannot know what they are themselves or shall be."[88] The commentary to this remark reads: "The Chaldeans of whom the first is Zoroaster and the next to him Ostanes, are said to have been acquainted with the movements of the heavenly bodies, and they predicted how these movements agree with the birth data. From the Chaldeans the Greeks learned the astrology and they began to cast horoscopes from the movements of the stars."[89]

Once more the Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture of this passage while the Vatican one has both. In the very rubbed miniature (fig. 79 below) are five figures, identifiable by their outlines as Chaldeans, three at the left and two at the right, all looking up toward a star-studded heaven. The two in the center seem to be represented in a seated position. Tower-like buildings, apparently merely filling, frame the miniature on either side. The same composition appears in the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 81) with the inscription *οἱ ἀστρονομοῦντες χαλδαῖοι* above the upper frame. The Chaldeans are arranged in two dense groups each consisting of four figures, overlapping each other so that the legs of only those in the foreground are shown. All of them are dressed in the fashion in which Early Christian art usually repre-

[88] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[89] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 619 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

sents Daniel in the lion's den, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, and the Magi in the Adoration of Christ, i.e. as Persians with the typical trousers, the ἀναξυρίδες, a tunic which is tucked over the thighs, and the little tiara on the head. It is quite likely that a representation of the Biblical Magi, guided by the star of Bethlehem, was the model for this picture.

18. *The Orgies of the Thracians*

Despised by Gregory are furthermore "those orgies of the Thracians from which the word θρησκεύειν is supposedly derived; and also the initiations and mysteries of Orpheus whom the Greeks admired so much because of his wisdom that they devised for him a lyre which attracts everything by its sounds."[90] Pseudo-Nonnus has not much to add; his commentary reads: "As the first of all mankind the Thracians are said to have begun to observe religious observances, to worship, to introduce initiations and to install mysteries, from which the word θρησκεύειν is derived, i.e. the reverence of Divinity. Moreover, Orpheus is said to have been the first of all men who introduced the initiations and the manner of initiating. He is the Orpheus who is said to have enchanted the inanimate with the sounds of his lyre and tamed the wild animals."[91]

In three of our manuscripts, excepting only the one in Jerusalem, we find a picture of Orpheus playing the lyre, but no representation of the Thracian orgies. In the Vatican miniature (fig. 82) Orpheus sits on a solid marble bench before a mountain and, facing the spectator, plays the lyre. Traces of some animals grouped around him are faintly recognizable: at the left a bird and a snake curled around a tree and above the instrument a small quadruped. Probably there were more animals in the picture which are completely flaked off. In the very similar picture of the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 83) a far richer assembly of animals around Orpheus (inscribed ὁ ὀρφεύς) can still be recognized. In the right lower corner the head of a big lion is visible, and above it a rabbit, a small deer, and a panther; at the foot of the pedestal which supports the lyre, a little bear raises his forepaws and listens intensely; on top of the lyre is a mouse; at the left is the same tree with the curling snake as in the Vatican miniature; beside it there is a quadruped resembling a lynx and at the feet of Orpheus a doglike animal. One or two more animals between the lynx and the dog are too badly flaked to permit an identification. The third copy in the manuscript in Paris (fig. 84)[92] is much simplified and all animals are omitted.

[90] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340. [91] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 620 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).

[92] Panofsky and Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1932, pp. 230ff., note 26 and fig. 3.—H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London 1938, p. 15 and pl. XVI, no. 24.

In all three miniatures Orpheus has a nimbus. This Christianization is due to the influence of a picture of David, who in many Greek Psalter manuscripts occurs as title picture in so similar an attitude that a formal connection between the figures of Orpheus and David is undeniable. A glance at the David in the codex Vat. Barb. gr. 320 (fig. 85),[93] to cite only one of many examples, makes this quite obvious. If the Paris miniature were all we had, we might explain its Orpheus as a direct copy of such a Psalter picture. But, with the Vatican and the Panteleimon miniatures, where a variety of animals surround Orpheus, most of which have no place in a Psalter picture, we must assume a direct connection with ancient representations of Orpheus as well.

Among the numerous mosaics of the Greco-Roman period depicting Orpheus among the animals,[94] one from the thermae at Oudna, now in the museum of Tripoli (fig. 86),[95] may be chosen as a parallel. Orpheus sits in a very similar attitude, playing the lyre, and the animals, whose number and species vary practically with each copy, are grouped in a similar fashion around him. Here each animal has its own piece of ground, but there are other Orpheus pictures from classical antiquity in which the landscape is spatially coherent as in the miniature. Moreover, in most classical representations, including the Oudna mosaic, there is a tree beside Orpheus. It is by no means a mere decorative element, but illustrates the literary tradition according to which Orpheus was able to entice even trees. Of this Pseudo-Nonnus was still aware and he commented on an earlier statement of Gregory in the *First Invectiva*[96] with the following words: "Orpheus was a Thracian musician who is said to have sung so suavely and harmoniously that he enticed more with his song than with his magic the trees, the speechless animals, the stones, and the rivers."[97]

Thus the Pseudo-Nonnus painter seems to have been influenced by two models, one a classical Orpheus picture from which he copied the assembly of the animals, and the other a David picture (which, too, goes ultimately back to an Orpheus type).

19. *The Chastisements of Mithras*

The next attack of Gregory is directed against "the chastisement of Mith-

[93] J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, vol. XXXI, no. 5), Helsingfors 1903, p. 128 and fig. 109.—A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte*, II, p. 442 and fig. 311.—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and pl. XVI, no. 21.

[94] O. Gruppe, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Orpheus, cols. 1189ff.—G. Guidi, "Mosaico di Orfeo," *Africa Italiana*, VI, 1935, pp. 120ff.

[95] P. Gauckler, *Mon. Piot*, III, 1896, p. 218 and fig. 12.—La Blanchère and P. Gauckler, *Catalogue des musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, *Musée Alaoui*, Paris 1897, p. 29, no. 148 and pl. VIII.—Guidi, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and fig. 16.

[96] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 653.

[97] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1028, no. 77.

ras which is just for those who can bear to be initiated into such rites."[98] Pseudo-Nonnus is quite informed about this cult and says of it: "About Mithras the opinions differ among various people: some conceive him as the sun, others as the guardian of the fire, and again others as a specific power. Certain initiations take place in the Mithraic cult, and particularly among the Chaldeans. Those who were to be initiated into the mysteries of Mithras had to endure certain degrees of chastisements. First they took upon themselves the easiest chastisements, and then the more drastic ones. First they were made to fast fifty days. If the initiated endured this patiently, he was scraped for two days and then he was made to stand twenty days in the snow. In this manner the chastisements were gradually increased to the maximum. If the person to be initiated seemed to be capable of such endurance, then they initiated him into the most secret mysteries."[99]

The Jerusalem manuscript possesses neither text nor picture of this paragraph, while the Vatican manuscript has below the text an interstice for a miniature which was not executed. In the blank space a later hand drew a crude horse and rider who have nothing to do with the text. The only preserved miniature to this paragraph is in the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 87), where it is inscribed above the upper margin: *οἱ θρησκεύοντες τὸν ἥλιον.* It represents two groups of three worshippers each, clad in simple, long tunics, and raising their hands in adoration of the sun, which is depicted outside the picture frame. Within the sun is a head represented in profile, a characteristic of Byzantine art that occurs in many Biblical miniatures, while in classical art the sun god is usually represented en face. The scene is related to the first sentence of the commentary which mentions Mithras as being worshipped by some as the sun. The Gregory text, with which the Panteleimon miniature is physically connected, does not refer to the Mithraic sun cult—another proof that the miniature was invented for the Pseudo-Nonnus text and transferred from there into the Gregory text. It is quite possible that originally the miniature of the Pseudo-Nonnus text had two scenes, one representing the worship of the sun and the other the chastisements, and that only the former was taken over into the Gregory text.

20. *Osiris*

After Mithras Gregory enumerates a series of Egyptian gods, starting with "the manglings of Osiris which are another calamity honored by the

[98] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[99] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1072. Two similar passages based on Gregory's remarks in the *First Invectiva* (Migne, *P.G.* 35, cols. 592 and 620) occur in the commentary of that homily. Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 989, no. 6 and 1009, no. 47.

Egyptians."[100] Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "Osiris is believed by the Egyptians to be a god: some take him to be Dionysus, others think he is someone else. It is said that Osiris was torn to pieces by Typhon and that this was the cause of great sorrow for the Egyptians who perpetually commemorated the mangling of Osiris. Dionysus likewise is said to have been torn to pieces by the Titans, just as Osiris by Typhon, who allegedly was a demon."[101]

While in the Jerusalem manuscript text and picture are missing, the Vatican manuscript has the text plus a blank space. The crude pen-drawing of an animal which now fills the interstice has nothing to do with the text. In analogy to the other miniatures which depict the worship of Egyptian gods (figs. 88-94) we would expect a composition with the image of the god on a high column and a group of worshippers around it. Though such a cult scene as a whole is Byzantine in character, it is not unlikely that at least the image of the god reflected certain features of an ancient Osiris type.

21. *Isis*

Next in Gregory's list of the Egyptian gods are "the misfortunes of Isis,"[102] on which Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "Isis is believed to be the same as Io who was seduced by Zeus. Zeus namely, so they say, seduced Io and being afraid of his wife Hera, transformed her into a cow, at one time into a white, and at other times into a black or violet one, and so he wandered around with her. During these wanderings Zeus came with Io to Egypt and therefore the Egyptians honor Io, i.e. Isis. They added to the head of her statue the horns of a cow, thus indicating the transformation from a maiden into a cow."[103]

As before, the Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture and the Vatican one has a blank space underneath the text. But fortunately a miniature is preserved in the Paris manuscript (fig. 88), though its composition is apparently much abbreviated. It represents two simply clad worshippers in adoration of a statue of Isis. The goddess stands on a capital—all that is represented of the usually high column. In her hands she holds a lance and a tympanum, neither of which are her proper attributes. The latter was apparently copied from the Cybele statue of the same manuscript (fig. 46), the same Cybele which served as model also for the statue of Hecate (fig. 72). But the miniaturist made a still greater blunder: he attached to the head of each of the two worshippers a pair of horns, which according to the Pseudo-Nonnus text should, of course, be the attribute of Io-Isis.

[100] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.
[101] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 508 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).
[102] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340. [103] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1072.

22. *The Mendesian Goat*

"The goats more venerable than the Mendesians themselves"[104] are next in Gregory's list and Pseudo-Nonnus describes them as follows: "The goat is called μένδης by the Egyptians, some of whom honored the goat because of its generative power. The goat, namely, is said to be a salacious animal. Those who lived near the Mendesian branch of the river (i.e. the Nile) did not eat the goats because of reverence for the generative god. They also honored greatly the herdsmen of the goats. Moreover, the Egyptians had a temple in Mendes in which stood a goat-shanked and ithyphallic statue."[105]

In the miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 89) a statue of the god Pan is depicted on top of a high column between two holy goats. Although the text quoted above speaks only of the "goat-shanked and ithyphallic statue" without calling it by its proper name, Pseudo-Nonnus knew that in the minds of the Greeks Pan and the Mendesian Goat were the same deity, as his other paragraph in the commentary on the *Second Invectiva* clearly indicates. There he says: "The Egyptians call the Pan Mendes, because in their own language Mendes means the goat. Pan has the form of a goat, etc."[106] By placing two goats beside a statue of Pan, however, the miniaturist showed that he had not quite understood their identity. Only for the ithyphallic statue, apparently, which more or less agrees with the ancient type of Pan, could he rely upon a classical model. Unfortunately the head, of which only the horns are visible, is so rubbed that it is uncertain whether it was a man's or a goat's head, but since both types occur in antiquity, either one would have conformed to classical tradition. The assembly of human and animal idols on the column is worshipped by a group of Egyptians in simple long garments and turban-like caps which add an oriental touch to their appearance. The house at the left with a huge open door, resembling the cella of a temple, is perhaps meant to represent the temple in Mendes, which, as may be remembered, is mentioned by Pseudo-Nonnus.

The Vatican manuscript has a similar composition (fig. 90). At the right there is once more a column, but this time it supports only one goat, with long horns, and no figure of Pan. Moreover, the worshippers are not grouped but approach the idol in a file. The first from the left is nearly completely destroyed; two others raise their hands in prayer. In front of these is a fourth: a priest offering a sacrifice over a burning altar. At the extreme left are traces of what most likely was a building, comparable to the one in the Jerusalem miniature.

A third illustration of this scene in the Panteleimon manuscript (fig. 93)

[104] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.
[105] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1072.
[106] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1052, no. 33. Based on Gregory's remark: Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 705.

is inscribed: οἱ θρησκεύοντ(ες) τοὺς τράγους. The painter, who not only in this but in other pictures of the same manuscript shows an inclination toward strongly symmetrical compositions, places the goat monument right in the center and doubles it in such a manner that the two reclining goats face each other. In a similar way he arranges the worshippers, who are divided in two groups more or less repeating those of the scene on top of it (fig. 87).

23. *Apis*

The goats of the Mendesians are followed in Gregory by "the manger of Apis, i.e. of the bull who delighted in the simple-mindedness of the Memphites,"[107] on which Pseudo-Nonnus comments: "At a certain time long ago there was born to the Egyptians a bull, who is said to have been conceived and brought forth by the light of Selene and who was called by them Apis. He had certain marks at the tail and at the tongue, by which he was recognized as Apis. For this begotten bull the Egyptians made a festival as if the god were present, and they provided for him in the manger a huge and complete banquet, thus feasting the god Apis."[108]

In the Jerusalem manuscript picture and text are lacking, and in the two Gregory manuscripts there is no illustration; the faint traces of a miniature in the Vatican codex (fig. 91), then, are the only remnants of a representation of this passage. Once more the deplorable state of preservation permits only a vague and most general description. A walled enclosure in bird's-eye view represents the manger of the sacred bull, but the shape of the sacred animal can no longer be made out. At the right are three figures of which the first and second are partly overlapped by the modern stamp of the Vatican Library. They raise their hands like the Egyptians in the Mendes picture (fig. 90) and therefore can likewise be identified as worshipping Egyptians. There was some object or figure, no longer identifiable, at the left of the manger.

24. *The Nile*

Gregory mentions further "the honors conferred upon the Nile whom they proclaim as the river of fruits and corn and as the measurer of prosperity by cubits."[109] Pseudo-Nonnus' explanation is brief and adds little information: "The Nile is a river in Egypt, who, as the most learned Herodotus tells us, was venerated because of his floods. They honor him namely as a god in his inundation and celebrate him as the cause of abundance, in the belief that the superabounding water was the god himself."[110]

[107] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.
[108] Migne, *P.G.* 38, col. 508 (Cosmas of Jerusalem).
[109] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.
[110] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1072.

The Jerusalem manuscript has neither text nor picture to this passage; in the Vatican codex there is the text with a blank interstice beneath. Therefore it is not certain whether the archetype depicted a river god, similar perhaps to the well-known sculptural group in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, or whether the illustrator created a composition of Byzantine character.

25. *The Wild Creatures and Reptiles Venerated by the Egyptians*

Finally, Gregory concludes with the general remark: "I pass over the honors they pay to reptiles and wild creatures, and their rejoicing in the worship of shameful things, all of which have their own cult and festival and share in the common possession of the evil spirit."[111] Pseudo-Nonnus names some of the animals sacred to the Egyptians in the last paragraph of his commentary: "The Egyptians venerated the ibises, the crocodiles, the serpents, the cats, and certain kinds of fish, thus bringing dishonor upon themselves by yielding to an absurd cult. Herodotus speaks more accurately about these cults, and also wrote precisely and copiously about their religious observances and their kings."[112]

The miniature of the Jerusalem manuscript (fig. 92) has a compositional scheme similar to that of the picture with the Mendesian goats (fig. 89), with a group of worshipping Egyptians, wearing caps and turbans, facing the venerated animals placed on high columns. There are three columns, on the first of which is a crocodile, on the second a cat with a serpent curled around its body, and on the third a dolphin. The combination of the cat and the serpent in this manner is probably the result of a fusion of two animals that originally were placed on separate columns. In front of the middle column, a priest, probably engaged in burning incense, bends to dip his wand into a huge, three-footed cauldron (cf. fig. 78).

Of the animals represented in the picture, Pseudo-Nonnus mentions the cat, the serpent, and the fish, but not the crocodile. It may be that a classical model was used which included the crocodile, too, among the various Egyptian animal gods. Yet, the cat is not the traditional Egyptian seated type and the dolphin, selected here as a venerated fish, is not an animal idol of the Egyptian tradition. Hence if there was a classical model, its influence could have been only limited. Moreover, it will be observed that the ibis, mentioned in Pseudo-Nonnus, is not represented, a further indication that a classical model was perhaps not available, for from such a model the ibis, one of the most common of the Egyptian animal deities, would hardly have been omitted.

In the Panteleimon manuscript a miniature connected with the passage on

[111] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 340.

[112] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1072.

the Egyptian animal idols (fig. 94) is incorrectly placed. Apparently the painter no longer understood its meaning, since it has no relation to the marginal inscription, which refers to the sanctuary of Trophonius and Agamedes (cf. p. 61). All that is left of the Egyptian wild creatures and reptiles is the fish, again a dolphin, doubled like the goats in figure 93, merely for symmetrical reasons. Between the two dolphins is the inscription *οἱ δελφῖνες*, obviously based on the picture and not on the Gregory or Pseudo-Nonnus texts where only fish in general, and not dolphins, are mentioned. The group of worshippers is also doubled, an indication, here as in other miniatures, of this painter's liking for the hieratic effect produced by strong symmetry.

In the Vatican manuscript, whose text otherwise is complete, this passage is omitted. The Pseudo-Nonnus commentary ends at the bottom of folio 150^v, and folio 151^r contains an old table of contents.

D. THE CLASSICAL MODELS

The miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries can quite clearly be divided into two categories. The first comprises those which can be derived from a classical pictorial tradition, and consequently hark back to a source older than the Byzantine text with which they are connected. The following miniatures belong to this group:

- I, 1: the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus (figs. 2-3)
- I, 2: Actaeon, torn to pieces by his dogs (figs. 6 and 10)
- I, 4: Chiron teaching Achilles to hunt (figs. 12-13)
- I, 8: Bellerophon killing the Chimera (figs. 23-24)
- II, 1: the birth of Zeus (figs. 36-41)
- II, 3: the rape of Persephone (fig. 48 and, made up from classical types, the scene fig. 51)
- II, 4: the birth of Dionysus (figs. 52-53, 57-58)
- II, 5: the birth of Athena (fig. 59)
- II, 18: the harping Orpheus (figs. 82-84)

These miniatures are based on classical models in all essential points of their iconography, but are at the same time transformed into the Byzantine style, and often to such a degree that, as the result of repeated copying, the relation between archetype and copy seems now and then obscured.

To this list may be added those classical elements which were incorporated into scenes of predominantly Byzantine character:

- II, 2: the statue of Cybele and perhaps the Phrygians mutilating themselves (figs. 45-46)

II, 6: Aphrodite swimming in the sea (figs. 63-64)
II, 11: the cynocephali who worship Hecate (figs. 70-72)
II, 22: the idol of Pan between the goats of Mendes (fig. 89)

Into the second and larger category belong the following miniatures in which no classical features could be detected:

I, 5: Gyges killing Candaules (figs. 17-18)
I, 6: Midas, eating gold and founding the city of Ankara (figs. 20-22)
I, 9: Alpheus and Arethusa (figs. 26-27)
I, 12: the funeral of Pylades (fig. 29)
I, 15: Minos and Rhadamanthys (figs. 33-34)
I, 20: the Colossus of Rhodes and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (though observation of nature may be involved in the latter) (fig. 35)
II, 2: the cult of Rhea (figs. 44-46) (except for certain elements, noted above in figs. 45-46)
II, 4: the veneration of Semele (fig. 58, lower part)
II, 6: the castration of Uranus by Cronus (fig. 63) and the veneration of Aphrodite (fig. 66, upper part)
II, 8: the slaying of strangers among the Taurians (fig. 66, lower part)
II, 9: the scourges of the Laconians (fig. 67)
II, 10: the butchery of Pelops (figs. 68-69)
II, 11: the veneration of Hecate (figs. 70-72 save for the cynocephali)
II, 13 and 15: the Dodonaean Oak and the Castalian Spring (figs. 74-76)
II, 14: the Delphian Tripod (lower part of fig. 75 and fig. 78)
II, 16: the liver-prognostication by the Magi (upper part of fig. 79 and fig. 80)
II, 17: the astrology of the Chaldeans (lower part of fig. 79 and fig. 81)
II, 19: the worship of the Sun of Mithras (fig. 87)
II, 21: the veneration of Isis (fig. 88)
II, 22: the veneration of the Mendesian Goat (figs. 89-90 and 93)
II, 23: the veneration of Apis (fig. 91)
II, 25: the veneration of various Egyptian animal gods (figs. 92 and 94)

Most miniatures of the second category must be considered as Byzantine inventions for two, complementary, reasons: first, their compositions show an intrinsic Byzantine character; and secondly, no classical archetype could be traced for any of them. Yet one must always keep in mind that transformations from a classical into a Byzantine miniature are, as could be shown in several instances, often so far-reaching that the evolution of a

Byzantine composition or figure-type from a classical model may be thoroughly obscured in the process of repeated copying and continuous changes. Consequently one or another of the miniatures of the second category may actually hark back to a classical model though we are no longer able to trace the process of transmission and transformation. This may be true particularly of some of the miniatures preserved only in the two Gregories in the Panteleimon monastery and in Paris and missing from the Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts of Jerusalem and the Vatican. I refer to the representations of the rape of Persephone and the birth of Dionysus which are, as we pointed out, handled in a much more narrative and more classical way in the Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts (figs. 48 and 52-53) in comparison to the more hieratic and less classical treatment in the Gregories (figs. 51 and 57-58). For instance, the miniature depicting the butchery of Pelops, preserved only in the two Gregories (figs. 68-69), may very well be a transformation of a more narrative and more classical picture which once illustrated the Pseudo-Nonnus text.

A comparison of the two categories established above makes immediately evident the fact that they coincide with a division of subject matter. The first category comprises exclusively mythological scenes in the strict sense of the word. In the second category there are also a few mythological subjects, such as the castration of Uranus and the butchery of Pelops whose classical descent may be only obscured, but by far the majority of the representations are of cults and oracles. The remainder either illustrate a few historical legends like those of Gyges killing Candaules and Midas' foundation of the city of Ankara, or are topographical pictures like the Colossus of Rhodes, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and, also, the illustration of Alpheus and Arethusa which, though being a mythological subject, is geographically interpreted by the Byzantine painter. The conclusion is obvious: the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus had classical models available only for the mythological narratives, and none for the other subjects.

If this division into two categories is accepted, then we should be able to classify also the lost miniatures whose subjects we can more or less certainly guess on the basis of the Pseudo-Nonnus text. To the first category, i.e. the mythological scenes with classical ancestry, we would ascribe the following items:

- I, 3: the substituted hind, which may have been depicted as the sacrifice of Iphigenia (fig. 10, lower part)
- I, 11: the Lydian chariot which probably was a duplication of the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus (cf. figs. 2-3)
- I, 13: the Molionides who were perhaps represented in their fight against Zeus in the manner of an ancient gigantomachy (fig. 32)

I, 18: the giants rising out of the dragon's teeth, who likewise may have been represented in the manner of a gigantomachy

II, 7: the phalli of Dionysus for the illustration of which we suggested a scene of the Bacchic rite where phalli are displayed

To the second category, i.e. the Byzantine inventions, we would attribute the following scenes which have to do with an oracle or ritual before an idol, or with topographical representations:

I, 7: the arrow of Abaris, the pictorialization of which we are unable to visualize

I, 14: the labyrinth, for which we likewise have no suggestion to make as to its pictorial form

I, 16 and I, 19: the cities of Cadiz, the two Thebes and Babylon, which most likely were represented as walled cities of the conventional Greco-Roman type

II, 12: the oracle of Trophonius which may have been placed in a cave like the prognostication of the Magi

II, 20: the Osiris picture, which was in all probability similar to the other scenes of veneration of Egyptian gods, i.e. an idol on a column, worshipped by a group of Egyptians

II, 24: the Nile, which was represented either as a classical river god, belonging in this case to the first category, or, as seems to us more probable, as a worshipped idol, typical of the second category

From these divisions the two animal pictures have been excluded:

I, 10: the salamander in the fire, and

I, 17: the galloping horse

The first has a parallel in an illustrated Dioscurides manuscript (fig. 28), and the second in a *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 112). An illustrated scientific treatise and a didactic poem may well have been the actual sources of the illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus.

What were the actual channels through which mythological representations of classical antiquity became known to the Byzantine illustrators? The Roman sarcophagi, which offer a number of parallels, might be one. Not that Byzantine miniaturists made sketches from this particular group of monuments. There is no indication that in Constantinople, where in all likelihood the commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnus were first illustrated, sarcophagi such as those cited as parallels were popular. It seems to us more reasonable to assume that the model was in the same medium, i.e. that it was an illustrated

manuscript of classical antiquity which the Byzantine miniaturist might have seen in one of the great libraries of the capital.

In order to determine the character of the assumed model, we must first investigate the literary sources which supplied Pseudo-Nonnus with his information about classical mythology. Occasionally he mentions his source: e.g. Plato (pp. 21, 31), or in several instances, Herodotus (pp. 21, 24, 36, 55, 72, 73). From the latter he got most of his information about cults and oracles, i.e. for that part of his text, especially, where the illustrations, as we have seen, have no classical ancestry. Unfortunately, no sources are quoted for any of the paragraphs dealing with mythology, where the pictures can be connected with a classical pictorial tradition. If we could identify such a textual source, it would probably be the same one the illustrator used, since the coincidence of a series of mythographical episodes with a similarly coherent group of pictures accompanying them can hardly be considered as accidental. But do we possess a mythological treatise of the classical period which includes more or less the same stories, more or less similarly phrased, as the Pseudo-Nonnus text?

The only mythological handbook of classical antiquity which has come down to us in a fairly complete state is the *Bibliotheke*, ascribed to Apollodorus of Athens, the great grammarian of the second century B.C. But since Robert has shown that the text must be later than the second half of the first century B.C. and probably is not even earlier than the second century A.D.,[1] the authorship of Apollodorus is no longer defended.[2] This handbook contains a summary of Greek myths and heroic legends from the Theogony to the Return of Odysseus. The original text breaks off in the middle of the Theseus story, and the rest is known only from an epitome ascribed to Johannes Tzetzes, the great Byzantine scholar of the twelfth century. In this *Bibliotheke* we find that the subjects not only are the same as those of our first category, but are, for the most part, quite similarly described—so much so, that each Pseudo-Nonnus miniature, with the single exception of the representation of Achilles and Chiron (cf. p. 19), illustrates the Apollodorus text quite as well as its own, and in several cases, as we shall see later, even more accurately.

Apollodorus (I, I, 6-7) describes the birth of Zeus (figs. 36-41) in the following words: "... Rhea repaired to Crete, when she was big with Zeus, and brought him forth in a cave of Dicte. She gave him to the Curetes ... to nurse ...; and the Curetes in arms guarded the babe in the cave, clashing their spears on their shields in order that Cronus might not hear the child's voice. But Rhea wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and gave it to Cronus to

[1] Carl Robert, *De Apollodori bibliotheca*, Berlin 1873.

[2] Apollodorus, ed. J. G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols., London 1921. In Frazer's introduction the earlier bibliography and text editions are quoted.

swallow, as if it were the newborn child."[3] A comparison of this account with the one in Pseudo-Nonnus (p. 38) makes quickly evident the similarity between the two and the fact that the miniatures—and especially the Cronus and Rhea group—are just as convincing illustrations of the Apollodorus text as of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary.

The same can be said of the miniature of the birth of Athena. The account in Apollodorus reads (I, III, 6) : "And when the time came for the birth to take place, Prometheus or, as others say, Hephaestus, smote the head of Zeus with an axe, and Athena, fully armed, leaped up from the top of his head at the river Triton."[4] Here the reference to Athena as "fully armed" is actually a more precise description of the Jerusalem miniature, where she is so represented (fig. 59), than the account in Pseudo-Nonnus (p. 50), where that epithet is lacking. Athena's flight from Hephaestus is also given in Apollodorus, although in connection not with her birth but with her request, later on, for arms (III, XIV, 6) : "But he [i.e. Hephaestus], being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena, and began to pursue her; but she fled. When he got near her with much ado (for he was lame), he attempted to embrace her; but she being a chaste virgin, would not submit to him. . . ."[5] Here again Apollodorus' text seems even closer to the miniature than the corresponding passage in Pseudo-Nonnus: both speak of the pursuing Hephaestus, but only Apollodorus adds that Athena fled—an action so vividly represented in the miniature.

Most elucidating is Apollodorus' description of the rape of Persephone (I, V, 1-3) : "Pluto fell in love with Persephone and with the help of Zeus carried her off secretly. But Demeter went about seeking her all over the earth . . . ; thereupon she made her way to Celeus, who at that time reigned over the Eleusinians. . . . But for Triptolemus, the elder of Metanira's children, she made a chariot of winged dragons, and gave him wheat, with which, wafted through the sky, he sowed the whole inhabited earth."[6] The accounts of the carrying-off of Persephone in Apollodorus and Pseudo-Nonnus (cf. p. 43) are pretty much alike in being quite simple unelaborated statements. But the two sources differ somewhat in the report of Demeter's meeting with Celeus and Triptolemus. According to the Byzantine text Demeter met both at the same time and gave seed to both; in the classical text Celeus and Triptolemus are mentioned in a different context, and the latter not only got the seed but actually "sowed the whole inhabited earth." In describing the Vatican miniature (p. 45 and fig. 48) we pointed out that Triptolemus (the third from the left) is represented in the act of sowing. In this he conforms with the classical rather than the Byzantine text which describes merely

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 7-9. This and all following translations are taken from Frazer.

[4] Frazer, I, p. 25.

[5] Frazer, II, pp. 89-91.

[6] Frazer, I, pp. 35ff.

a conversation. The meaning of the whole group at the left is now clearer: the three figures are apparently a fusion of originally two scenes, one representing Demeter meeting with Celeus, the other Triptolemus sowing seed, events which in the classical text were associated with two different passages. Furthermore, the Vatican miniature depicts at the right, in front of the chariot of Pluto, a group of three figures whom we identified as the three Seasons. They were not mentioned in the Pseudo-Nonnus text, but there is perhaps at least an allusion to them in Apollodorus, who concludes the chapter on Demeter with the sentence: "But Persephone was compelled to remain a third of every year with Pluto and the rest of the time with the gods." The Seasons as an ancient triad symbolize the tripartition of the year, which regulates the life of Persephone. Thus in several respects the miniature fits the classical text better than the Byzantine, a fact which indicates that it may have been invented not for the Pseudo-Nonnus text, but for a mythological handbook like that of Apollodorus, if not actually for it. The Byzantine miniaturist, in copying the picture out of a classical model, was apparently satisfied to modify it only slightly to suit it to the new text.

Of Bellerophon Apollodorus says (II, III, 1-2), "It [i.e. the Chimera] had the fore part of a lion, the tail of a dragon, and its third head, the middle one, was that of a goat, through which it belched fire.... So Bellerophon mounted his winged steed Pegasus, offspring of Medusa and Poseidon, and soaring on high shot down the Chimera from the height."[7] Here again the Apollodorus and Pseudo-Nonnus texts (cf. p. 25) are so much alike that the miniatures (figs. 23-24) fit both equally well and could be shifted from the one to the other unaltered.

The passages describing the birth of Dionysus are also very similar. The text of Apollodorus reads (III, IV, 3): "Zeus loved Semele, and bedded with her unknown to Hera. Now Zeus had agreed to do for her whatever she asked, and deceived by Hera she asked that he would come to her as he came when he was wooing Hera. Unable to refuse, Zeus came to her bridal chamber in a chariot with lightnings and thunderings, and launched a thunderbolt. But Semele expired of fright, and Zeus, snatching the six-month abortive child from the fire, sewed it in his thigh.... But at the proper time Zeus undid the stitches and gave birth to Dionysus, and entrusted him to Hermes."[8] Again every feature in the miniatures (figs. 52-53) can be explained by this classical text just as well as by the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary (cf. p. 46).

This applies also to Apollodorus' description of the Actaeon myth (III, IV, 4): "He [i.e. Actaeon] perished in that way, according to Acusilaus, because Zeus was angry at him for wooing Semele; but according to the more general opinion, it was because he saw Artemis bathing. And they say that

[7] Frazer, I, pp. 151ff.

[8] Frazer, I, pp. 317ff.

the goddess at once transformed him into a deer, and drove mad the fifty dogs in his pack, which devoured him unwittingly."[9] The Pseudo-Nonnus text (cf. p. 15) adds nothing further to the understanding of the Jerusalem and Vatican miniatures (figs. 6 and 10).

Finally, there is Apollodorus' account of the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus (Epit. II, 6-7): "So Pelops also came a-wooing; and when Hippodamia saw his beauty, she conceived a passion for him, and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes, to help him; for Myrtilus was charioteer to Oenomaus. Accordingly Myrtilus, being in love with her and wishing to gratify her, did not insert the linchpins in the boxes of the wheels, and thus caused Oenomaus to lose the race and to be entangled in the reins and dragged to death."[10] Although this text passage is from the epitome and therefore may be somewhat abbreviated, it is nevertheless a sufficient basis for the miniatures (figs. 2-3). In one respect it is decidedly more explicit than the Pseudo-Nonnus text (cf. p. 12), for it describes Oenomaus' breakdown, which in the miniature is clearly pictorialized by the stumbling of the horses. The Pseudo-Nonnus text relates only that Pelops emerged as the victor, which could mean also that he merely outran Oenomaus. Thus a fuller text such as that of Apollodorus is actually required for a thorough explanation of the miniature.

Of Orpheus Apollodorus says (I, III, 2), that he "practised minstrelsy and by his songs moved stones and trees."[11] But this textual phrase as well as the Pseudo-Nonnus passage (cf. p. 67) and its miniatures (figs. 82-84) are so conventional that there seems no point in arguing whether the miniature might have existed in an illustrated Apollodorus. Orpheus playing the lyre was such a well-known and widespread pictorial subject in late Roman and early Byzantine art that its appearance in a Byzantine manuscript could be explained in more than one way.

But leaving aside the Orpheus picture, the profound agreement between seven mythological miniatures and the corresponding text passages in Apollodorus, some of which explain these miniatures even better than the Pseudo-Nonnus text, are, we believe, sufficient evidence that an illustrated mythological handbook like the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus did exist for the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus to exploit. The objection might be raised that since most of the classical episodes occur also in other classical texts Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke* was not necessarily the model, even if we accept the existence of an illustrated mythographer in principle. Such an objection is not without foundation since we must reckon with the fact that Apollodorus was not the only handbook of its kind in classical antiquity.

[9] Frazer, I, p. 323. [10] Frazer, II, p. 161. [11] Frazer, I, p. 17.

Yet, if it was not the *Bibliotheke* itself, it must have been a handbook of a very similar character.

This is evident if we compare the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary with the only other preserved Greek text which contains an extensive body of mythological narratives, namely Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*. A brief comparison of the Pseudo-Nonnus paragraphs, to which mythological illustrations exist, with the corresponding passages in Diodorus will make this point clear. The Cronus and Rhea story is told in the latter quite in detail (v, 70, 2-3), but the decisive point, the swallowing of the stone in swaddling clothes (figs. 36-38, 40), is missing. The story of the birth of Athena does not occur at all. There are two accounts of the rape of Persephone (v, 3, 1-3 and v, 68, 2), but neither explains all details of the Vatican miniature (fig. 48). Bellerophon's fight with the Chimera is related (vi, 9, 1) without the detailed description of the monster. There are two accounts of the birth of Dionysus (iv, 2, 2 and v, 52, 2), and the second, in particular, is not unlike the Pseudo-Nonnus text (cf. p. 46) in relating the approach of Zeus to Semele and the sewing of the child Dionysus into the thigh (figs. 52-53). But this remains one of the very few cases where the Diodorus text explains sufficiently the Byzantine miniature. For the death of Actaeon Diodorus gives two versions (iv, 81, 4-5) : according to one Actaeon was killed because he had proposed to consummate the marriage with Artemis at the temple of the goddess, and according to the other because he represented himself superior to Artemis as a hunter. But Diodorus does not mention Actaeon's sight of the goddess nude which is the reason given for his death in Apollodorus and is given pictorial emphasis in the miniature (figs. 6 and 10). Finally, the defeat of Oenomaus by Pelops ends in Diodorus (iv, 73-74) with the suicide of Oenomaus, whereas according to Apollodorus he was entangled in the reins and dragged to death. The miniature with the stumbling horses (figs. 2-3) obviously follows the latter version. Altogether only two miniatures agree with the corresponding passages in Diodorus, which therefore cannot be considered the underlying text for the mythological miniature cycle in Pseudo-Nonnus. Yet, this comparison makes it clear that the identification of the model cannot be based on the agreement of a single scene with its textual passage, but only on the correspondence of a whole picture cycle with its basic text. The fundamental issue in the study of book illumination is not the iconographical evolution of single scenes, but of entire cycles of pictures.

Moreover, there is still another reason for doubting the existence of an illustrated Diodorus. The illustrated classical text we are trying to trace must, in our opinion, be sought in the realm of mythological handbooks, to which in the strict sense of the word Diodorus' *Library of History* does not

belong. In it the mythographical part (Books I-VI) is only a kind of introduction to a popular world history, down to the time of Caesar's Gallic war (Books VII-XL). Neither Byzantine miniatures nor classical monuments furnish any evidence, as far as we can see, that ancient history books of this type were illustrated in a cyclic fashion, and it is significant in this connection that the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus did not have any model for his historical miniatures as he had for the mythological narratives.

Any search for classical mythological handbooks which might have served as models must consider the problem of which ones survived the breakdown of the pagan world and were still known and available to Byzantine writers. It is quite revealing that, to judge from the literary records, the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus was indeed the best-known classical handbook of mythography in the Byzantine period down to the fourteenth century.[12]

In the ninth century the learned patriarch Photius describes among the 280 books of his *Myriobiblon* two mythological treatises (Book 186). The first is that of Conon, who in the first century B.C. wrote fifty narratives which, however, have little relation in content to the subjects we are concerned with; and the second is that of Apollodorus. Since we know that all the books Photius excerpted were used for lectures and discussed in his academy, they can be considered as the standard books of his time. Moreover, Photius is the earliest source in which the *Bibliotheke* is attributed, though according to modern opinion erroneously, to the great Athenian grammarian—an indication of the high esteem in which this handbook was held in the Byzantine period. A second source is Johannes Tzetzes, a scholar of the twelfth century to whom, as we have mentioned, the epitome of Apollodorus is ascribed. The same scholar used also Apollodorus as chief source for his commentary on Lycophron.[13] And still in the fourteenth century Johannes Pediasimus, in writing his verses about the twelve labors of Heracles, drew from Apollodorus' handbook.[14] All this evidence supports the assumption that the *Bibliotheke*, known under the name of Apollodorus, was indeed the best-known and most easily accessible handbook of Greek mythography to Byzantine scholars for many centuries.

So far the chief evidence for the existence of an illustrated Apollodorus in classical antiquity has been the miniatures of the Middle Byzantine period. But they are not the only evidence. We have previously pointed out that a number of pictorial parallels to our miniatures could be found among the Roman sarcophagi. This can hardly be considered as fortuitous. In inter-

[12] U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Arch. Anz.*, XIII, 1898, p. 228) calls Apollodorus "seit dem 9. Jahrhundert das Handbuch für die alte Heldensage."

[13] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Munich 1897, pp. 526ff.

[14] Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

preting the iconography of the sarcophagus with the Pelops and Oenomaus story in the Louvre (fig. 5), Carl Robert used Apollodorus, significantly enough, as the chief textual basis.[15] In connection with the only preserved Actaeon sarcophagus (fig. 8), the same scholar states that its myth corresponds with Pompeian frescoes as well as later poets and mythographers.[16] By these "late mythographers" he apparently meant once more Apollodorus. The fight between Bellerophon and the Chimera (figs. 23-24) has its parallel in a sarcophagus in the Villa Pamfili (fig. 25). Robert's statement that its scenes go back to Euripides' *Stheneboea*[17] does not contradict the possibility that they may have existed also in an illustrated Apollodorus, which, indeed, mentions all three events illustrated on the sarcophagus (II, III, 1-2). It is quite likely that already the first illustrator of Apollodorus, just like the later miniaturists, used older picture cycles, and an illustrated Euripides was in all probability one of his main sources.[18] For the sarcophagi representing the rape of Persephone (fig. 49), Robert quotes as literary source the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*,[19] but adds that this does not necessarily mean that the craftsman actually knew that hymn. Here again Apollodorus, as a contemporary piece of writing giving a quite extensive description of the rape (cf. p. 79), is much more likely the immediate source for the Roman sculptor. In the representations of the birth of Dionysus the connection between the miniatures (figs. 52-53) and the sarcophagi (figs. 54-55) is especially close, and here again Apollodorus explains the reliefs of the sarcophagi just as well as the miniatures. The Cronus and Rhea story and the birth of Athena were not suitable subjects for sarcophagi, but in all the other cases mentioned above, where the same theme occurs in both media, the same iconography has been followed. The most plausible explanation, we believe, for this phenomenon is that an illustrated Apollodorus served as a common source for the sarcophagi and for the Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures.

That there was an illustrated mythographer which served as the iconographic source for the sarcophagi was already implied by Robert in some of his keen analyses. He observed, to quote only one example, that the Oedipus scenes on the lid of a sarcophagus in the Lateran[20] show exactly the same combination of iconographical features, partly based on Euripides and partly on Sophocles, as is found in Apollodorus, and he added the general statement that artistic monuments of the Roman period and contemporary mythologi-

[15] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, p. 387.

[16] Robert, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 1.

[17] Robert, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 44.

[18] For the existence of illustrated Euripides dramas, cf. Robert's description of the Protesilaus sarcophagus, *op. cit.*, III, 3, p. 500, and, more explicitly, Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 44 and *passim*.

[19] *Op. cit.*, III, 3, p. 454.

[20] Robert, *Oidipus*, Berlin 1915, p. 563 and fig. 72.

cal texts not infrequently show an identical choice of iconographical elements from different sources. If Robert is right that Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke* originated in about the Hadrianic period, it must have been illustrated very shortly after it was written, because most of the Roman sarcophagi under consideration belong to the second or third centuries.

But even if we admit that an illustrated Apollodorus manuscript was the main source of the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries, it could not, nevertheless, have been the only one. In describing the cynocephali in the Hecate miniature (p. 59 and fig. 70) we hinted already at an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes, about which we shall have to say more later on (p. 102).

For the miniature of the birth of Aphrodite from the foam of the sea (figs. 63-64) Apollodorus cannot have been the source, since he says nothing about Aphrodite's birth except that she was the daughter of Zeus and Dione (I, III, 1), and although he mentions elsewhere (I, I, 4) the castration of Uranus, he relates it to the birth not of Aphrodite, but of the Furies. Consequently Pseudo-Nonnus must have used another textual and pictorial source. Now, a quite similar and detailed account of Aphrodite's birth is given in Hesiod (*Theog.* 188ff.): "And so soon as he had cut off the members with flint and cast them from the land into the surging sea, they were swept away over the main a long time: and a white foam spread around them from the immortal flesh, and in it there grew a maiden. . . . Her gods and men call Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess and rich-crowned Cytherea, because she grew amid the foam. . . ."[21] One might therefore be tempted to assume Hesiod as the source not only for the text, but perhaps also for the miniature. However, since the figure of the swimming Aphrodite is the only pictorial feature in the whole Pseudo-Nonnus which can be explained by a passage in Hesiod, the basis for the assumption of an illustrated *Theogony* is not broad enough. Unless a considerable number of scenes have been gathered together as parts of a cycle, as in the case of Apollodorus, one must be cautious in the identification of the basic text from which a picture cycle was made up. For the time being it seems wise to leave unanswered the question of whether or not an illustrated *Theogony* existed in Hellenistic or Roman times.

There is still another Pseudo-Nonnus miniature, namely the education of Achilles by Chiron (p. 19 and figs. 12-13), which harks back to a classical prototype, but not an illustrated Apollodorus, as becomes clear by reading his description (III, XIII, 6); "Peleus brought the child to Chiron, who received him and fed him on the inwards of lions and wild swine and the marrows of bears, and named him Achilles, because he had not put his lips to

[21] Translation by H. G. Evelyn-White. Loeb Classical Library, London 1914, p. 93.

the breast."[22] This passage is silent about the hunting, the very motif which is the nucleus of the miniatures. In this case the source may not have been a mythological handbook at all. We saw on page 19ff. that the hunting of Achilles' on Chiron's back occurs in three late classical monuments (the Tensa Capitolina, fig. 14; the marble relief in the Museo Capitolino, fig. 16; and the bronze plate in Cairo, fig. 15) embodied in a larger cycle of scenes from the life of Achilles. It has long been recognized and repeatedly stated that the cycles of these monuments can largely be explained by the *Achilleis* of Statius,[23] though not this epic poem itself but only a Greek archetype, no longer preserved, could have been the common source.

At the end of the second book of Statius, just before the text of the unfinished poem breaks off, Achilles himself narrates at great length his education by Chiron (II, 102ff.): "Then he taught me to go with him through pathless deserts, dragging me on with mighty stride, and to laugh at sight of the wild beasts, nor tremble at the shattering of rocks by rushing torrents or at the silence of the lonely forest. Already at that time weapons were in my hand and quivers on my shoulders. . . . Scarce had my raw youth turned the wheel of twice six years, when already he made me outpace swift hinds and Lapith steeds and running overtake the flung dart; often Chiron himself . . . hoisted me upon his back."[24] This passage shows all the features on which the miniatures rest: the ride on Chiron's back, the quiver, which naturally implies arrow and bow, and the hunting of hinds. Statius mentions still more animals and the ways of hunting them (II, 121ff.): "Never would he suffer me to follow unwarlike does through the pathless glens of Ossa, or lay low timid lynxes with my spear, but only to drive angry bears from their resting place, and boars with lightning thrust; or if anywhere a mighty tiger lurked on a lioness with her cubs in some secret lair upon the mountain side. . . ." From this passage we learn that Achilles was hunting not only with bow and arrow but also with a spear, as represented in the Tensa and Cairo plate, and furthermore that the victims were lions and bears as well as hinds and other animals. The Tensa depicts the chasing of a bear; the marble slab and the Cairo plate, the hunting of a lion; so these monuments, too, are in agreement with the same text. Consequently there is no reason to assume that in the various representations one animal may have replaced another, or that they hark back to different text versions. The various hunting scenes can be explained rather as parts of an extensive picture cycle illustrating the youth of Achilles which was made for a Greek *Achilleis* similar to that of Statius.

[22] Frazer, II, p. 71.

[23] H. Kuerschner, *P. Papinius Statius, quibus in Achilleide componenda usus esse videatur fontibus*, Marburg 1907, pp. 23ff., 26.

[24] The following translation is taken from J. H. Mozley's edition, Loeb Classical Library, vol. II, London 1928, pp. 589ff.

Thus we come to the conclusion, that, although an illustrated *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus was the main source for the Pseudo-Nonnus illustrator, several more models were involved such as a Pseudo-Callisthenes, a Greek *Achilleis* and perhaps a Hesiod, in addition to scientific treatises like those of Dioscurides or Pseudo-Oppian. All this suggests that the number of illustrated classical texts still preserved in the Middle Byzantine period must have been quite considerable.

E. THE DATE OF THE FIRST PSEUDO-NONNUS ILLUSTRATION

When were the commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnus first illustrated? The most natural assumption, of course, would be that miniatures were added not very long after the text was written. As the text is generally supposed to have been composed in the sixth century (p. 6), a date soon thereafter may perhaps be attributed to the illustrations. Several factors, however, militate against such an early date for the miniatures and even against a date in the pre-iconoclastic period.

The earliest dated and richly illustrated copy of the homilies of Gregory is the well-known manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, cod. gr. 510, which was written between 880 and 886 A.D. for Basil I.[1] It contains the text of all forty-five homilies for almost every one of which there is a full-page miniature. But of the wide variety of subjects illustrated on these pages, it is clear that only a few were drawn from the text of the homilies and that most, by far, of the scenes were copied from other illustrated books, such as the various parts of the Septuagint, a Gospel book, a lectionary, a menologion, historical chronicles, and so on.[2] It seems surprising that among the various models which the illustrators of this luxurious manuscript used there was no Pseudo-Nonnus. If an illustrated Pseudo-Nonnus had existed at that time, we would expect a copy to have been in the imperial library, where the illustrators of the Paris Gregory could have used it. Yet there is perhaps another explanation for the absence of Pseudo-Nonnus pictures in the Paris Gregory. The text of the four homilies with which we are concerned has numbers in the margins which refer to the paragraphs in Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries.[3] In the homily *In Sancta Lumina* these numbers ran from 1 to 25, in the *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii Magni* from 1 to 20 and in the two *Invectivae contra Julianum* from 1 to 97 and 1 to 33. It is possible, then, that the Paris codex, which breaks off at the end, may originally have in-

[1] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pls. XV-LX.

[2] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 196ff.

[3] T. Sinko, "De expositione Pseudo-Nonniana historiarum," *Charisteria Casimiro de Morawski*, Cracow 1922, p. 126.

cluded the commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnus, and these may have been illustrated. In that case there would have been no need to repeat the mythological pictures in the text proper of Gregory's homilies.

However, a second illustrated Gregory manuscript of the ninth century is more revealing; this is the codex E. 49-50 inf. of the Ambrosian Library in Milan.[4] Like the codex gr. 510 in Paris, it has illustrations to all forty-five homilies, but here they are distributed over the margins and so are more closely related to the text passages which they illustrate. As in the Paris manuscript, one group of miniatures is made up from the text of Gregory's homilies, and another, larger, one is copied from other sources, chiefly various books of the Old and New Testaments.[5] Furthermore, the Milan codex includes some illustrations of Gregory's allusions to pagan divinities and cults, the very subjects on which Pseudo-Nonnus wrote his commentaries. The problem immediately arises of whether these miniatures were taken over from an illustrated Pseudo-Nonnus, as in Panteleimon 6 and Paris Coislin 239 where they can be fully explained only with the aid of the commentary text, or whether they were made up directly from Gregory's allusions. All of them illustrate passages of the *First Invectiva contra Julianum*. This does not necessarily mean that the other three homilies (the *Second Invectiva*, the *Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni* and the *Oratio In Sancta Lumina*) were originally without mythological miniatures. The manuscript, in its present state, is extremely damaged, and in many places, including all four homilies that concern us, the pictures in the margins have been either completely or partially cut out. It is, therefore, quite possible that some mythological scenes may have been among the lost miniatures.

Where Gregory mentions the "Thessalian mare, the Laconian woman and the men who drink from the Arethusa, i.e. the Sicilians,"[6] the illustrator depicted all three (fig. 95)[7], the Thessalian mare, unfortunately, having been cut out. The Laconian woman, inscribed ΓΥΝΗ ΛΑΚΕΔΕΜΟΝΙΑ, stands frontally, stretching her hands out for some indeterminable purpose, and wearing a crown like those worn by an emperor, the Wise Virgins, and other people in this manuscript. Next to her are five men, lying flat on the ground and drinking water from a pool. They are, as the inscription ἈΝΔΡΕϹ ΤΗ͂Ϲ ἈΡΕΘΟΥϹ(ΗϹ) ΠΗΓΗϹ ΠΙΝΟΝΤΕϹ tells us, the men who drink from the famous Sicilian Spring. The miniature is a literal illustration of the Gregory text and is sufficiently explained by it. There is a commentary by Pseudo-Nonnus on this passage, which reads: "Each city or country has some outstanding peculiarity: Thes-

[4] A. Martini-D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. II, Milan 1906, p. 1084.—Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, p. 81 and pl. LXXXVII.—A. Grabar, *Les Miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne*, Paris 1943, vol. I album.

[5] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 199.

[6] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 649.

[7] Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX, no. 1.

saly has the horses, Attica the silver metal, and India the golden sand. Similarly the city of the Laconians has the famous hunting dogs, and strong and undaunted women. And Sicily has the Spring by the name of Arethusa, whom the river Alpheus loved as the myth tells. The water of Arethusa is unmixed, pure and sweet."[8] There is nothing in the Milan miniature that requires the Pseudo-Nonnus text for further explanation. This becomes particularly clear if one compares the group of drinking men with the miniatures in the Jerusalem and Vatican manuscripts which depict the love story of Alpheus and Arethusa in a mythological fashion (figs. 26-27). The illustrator of the Milan miniature, quite obviously, had neither seen an illustration of the Alpheus and Arethusa story, nor known the Pseudo-Nonnus passage on this subject.

In a discussion of the books of the ancient Greeks on theology and morals, Gregory makes deprecatory remarks about Hesiod's *Theogony* and the *Hymns of Orpheus*: "Let Orpheus come forth with his lyre and with his attracting songs, let him utter to Zeus big and extraordinary words and thoughts about theology. . . ."[9] This passage is accompanied by a figure of Orpheus, inscribed ΟΡΦΕVC ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗC ΚΙΘΑΡΑC; he is seated in a rocky landscape, wears a Phrygian cap and plays the lyre (fig. 96).[10] Pseudo-Nonnus comments in detail upon "Orpheus and the cithara"; his paragraph begins: "Orpheus was a Thracian musician who is said to have sung so suavely and harmoniously that he enticed more with his song than with his magic the trees, the speechless animals, the stones, and the rivers."[11] In agreement with this passage the miniatures in the Panteleimon and Vatican manuscripts (figs. 82-83) showed, as may be remembered, Orpheus surrounded by a crowd of animals, and even in the Paris miniature (fig. 84), where all animals are omitted, at least the landscape setting is preserved. But in the Milan miniature there is not a single one of the surrounding elements, and the Pseudo-Nonnus text is not needed to justify the harping Orpheus figure; Gregory's remark alone is sufficient.

On the same page is a figure of Homer, inscribed ῾ΟΜΗΡΟC and represented in an utterly unclassical manner as a youthful man with long hair and with a gesture of speech as if he were addressing Orpheus. Homer is the third of the pagan writers on theology whom Gregory attacks, saying of him: "And where will you place Homer, the great comic writer about your gods, or, shall I say the tragedian? You will namely find both things in his wonderful poems: some full of misfortune and others deserving laughter."[12] Once more the corresponding paragraph of Pseudo-Nonnus[13] contributes nothing to the explanation of the figure.

[8] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1024, no. 74.
[9] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 653.
[10] Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pl. LXXXVII, no. 550.—Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX, no. 2.
[11] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1028, no. 77.
[12] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 653.
[13] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1028, no. 79.

The next miniature represents a woman, heavily veiled like a matron and inscribed ·Η ·ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (fig. 97).[14] With one hand hidden under the paenula and the other raised in a gesture of speech, she walks toward the right behind a second figure of which only a leg is visible. The rest of the scene, in which there were probably several more figures, has been torn out. The miniature has to do with the love adventure of Ares and Aphrodite, alluded to by Gregory in the following words: "Who is that wounded Ares, shut up in a brazen prison, that dull lover of the golden Aphrodite and inconsiderate adulterer who was caught by the lame Hephaestus (when the latter had brought together the assembly of the gods to his own disgrace) and then dismissed for a small price?"[15] From this passage we learn that among the figures cut out of the miniature must have been Ares and Hephaestus. A classical representation of this episode would surely have depicted the two lovers on a couch under the net of Hephaestus and the assembly of the laughing gods around them, and we would expect to find such a composition also in a Pseudo-Nonnus manuscript,[16] if, as we believe, it ever had illustrations to the commentary of the *First Invectiva*. But the surviving figure of Aphrodite in the Milan miniature suggests that such a scene was not represented. Here an unimaginative illustrator seems merely to have lined up the gods in a row.

Speaking of the lack of respect for parents, Gregory quotes two detestable examples from the *Theogony*: "How can one believe in Cronus who cut off the privy parts of Uranus so that he might no longer beget gods, and who gave them to the waves to produce a goddess, an offspring of the foam. Or in Zeus who rose in revolt against Cronus, following the example of his father, that sweet stone and bitter slayer of tyrants."[17] The miniature to this passage (fig. 98)[18] represents first Cronus, a bearded man in a long garment who, with an enormous axe, splits a segment of a heavenly sphere. The accompanying inscription reads: ·Ο ΚΡΌΝΟϹ ΤῸΝ ΟΥ(ΡΑ)ΝΟΝ ΤΈΜΝΟ(Ν). Behind him stands Zeus, the rebellious son, who is merely a repetition of Cronus, but without a beard. He, too, holds a big axe with which he aims at the head of his father. The inscription reads: ·Ο ΔΊΑϹ ΚΑΤ(Α) ΤΟΥ ΚΡΟΝ(ΟΥ) ЄΠΑΝΙϹΤΆΜЄΝΟϹ. Both subjects are commented on by Pseudo-Nonnus in two separate paragraphs.[19] In the first he says: "According to the myth, Uranus was the father of Cronus. Since Cronus did not wish another child to be born, he took a sickle, cut off the privy parts of his father and threw them into the sea. And from the foam was Aphrodite born." And the second paragraph reads: "When Zeus learned that Cronus, his father, was devouring his children, he

[14] Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII, no. 1.

[15] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 656.

[16] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1032, no. 86.

[17] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 660.

[18] Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 76, note 22.—Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI, no. 2.

[19] Migne, *P.G.* 36, cols. 1032-33, nos. 88-89.

made a revolt against him, drove him out of his kingdom and hurled him down to Tartarus with the help of the Titans." Once more it is perfectly clear that the illustrator had no knowledge either of the Pseudo-Nonnus text or of any classical representation of this subject. In a picture in the classical tradition one would expect a sickle in the hand of Cronus for the castration of a personified Uranus (cf. fig. 63). But the illustrator, unaided by a classical text, chose an axe as seeming to him a suitable implement. A similar situation obtains in the second scene: Gregory does not specify the manner in which the rebellion of Zeus against Cronus took place, and so the illustrator interpreted the event in his own way by placing a huge axe in the hands of Zeus. If he had either read Pseudo-Nonnus' phrase of "hurling down to Tartarus," or seen a classical representation of this scene, he surely would not have designed such a figure as Zeus with an axe swinging over his head.

And finally Gregory speaks of the "Beef-eater who used force against the husbandman and devoured his ploughing bull and who got his name from this deed."[20] This rather cryptic remark is illustrated in the Milan manuscript (fig. 99)[21] by two men, one of them bearded, both pulling at the same rope. A part of the picture is cut away which apparently contained the bull mentioned in the text as well as in the inscription: 'Ο ΒΟΥΘΟΊΝΑC ΤὸΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΝ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙC(AC) Κ(ΑΙ) ΤὸΝ 'ΑΡΩΤΗΡΑ Β[ΟΥΝ ΛΑΦΥΞΑC]. This picture, when it was still intact, quite surely represented the attempt of the "Beef-eater" to take away a bull from the husbandman. It is quite obvious that the painter had not understood the meaning of Gregory's cryptic phrase, which alludes to a deed of Heracles as it is explicitly described in Pseudo-Nonnus.[22] According to this passage Heracles met King Thiodamas with his bulls in the country of the Dryopes, and needing food he slaughtered one of the bulls and feasted on it. So once more it is quite clear that the illustrator had no knowledge of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentary, and that he made up the picture directly from the seemingly cryptic Gregory passage.

The thirsty men at the spring, the reciting Homer, the butchering Cronus and Zeus, and the rope-pulling Heracles and husbandman show little variation in dress or in facial expression, and similarly conventional are the Laconian woman and the matron-like Aphrodite. In not a single one of these figures is there a trace of a classical tradition. The only exception is perhaps Orpheus, whose Phrygian cap suggests some knowledge of a classical prototype. But this one element is not evidence enough for assuming that an illustrated classical handbook was the model, since the lyre-playing Orpheus is

[20] Migne, *P.G.* 35, col. 661.
[21] Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pl. LXXXVII, no. 551.—Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII, no. 3.
[22] Migne, *P.G.* 36, col. 1008, no. 41.

so popular a type in late classical and Early Christian art that it could have become known to the illustrator of the Milan codex as an isolated picture and not necessarily in a cyclic context.

As mentioned before, the few Milan miniatures with classical subjects depend entirely on the Gregory text and not in a single instance on Pseudo-Nonnus' commentary. This is somewhat surprising because the scribe of the Milan codex—like that of the Paris manuscript—wrote the reference numbers to the paragraphs of Pseudo-Nonnus on the margins[23] and hence must have been familiar with the commentary. Of course, we do not know whether the Milan codex once actually possessed the Pseudo-Nonnus commentaries at the end or not. The manuscript, as it is, seems more or less complete, and it may very well be that the scribe copied, somewhat mechanically, only the reference numbers from an earlier manuscript without adding the full commentaries at the end. In this case the miniaturist may be excused for not having made use of this text, which otherwise might have helped him in making at least some of the illustrations more intelligible.

If a Pseudo-Nonnus with pictures existed at all at the time the Milan Gregory was written, we would expect it to have been used and exploited by the illustrator who was so eager to excerpt pictures from so many different sources, thus sparing himself the effort to invent new ones. It would appear, then, that in the ninth century, when the Milan codex was made, Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries had not yet been illustrated, although the text itself was by then already several centuries old. On the other hand, the mythological illustrations of the Pseudo-Nonnus text were certainly not first invented for the Jerusalem and Vatican manuscripts. In both copies, which belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the pictures show already simplifications and misunderstandings which point to repeated copying. We may suppose, then, that the Pseudo-Nonnus commentaries were first illustrated, with pictures copied from some illustrated mythological handbook such as that of Apollodorus, sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The Macedonian renaissance in the tenth century suggests itself as the most likely time for the revival of a classical pictorial tradition.

[23] In figure 97, e.g., one can see between the two writing columns the letters ПЄ, i.e. the number 85.

II. PSEUDO-OPPIAN

A. THE CODEX MARC. GR. 479 AND THE CHARACTER OF ITS MINIATURES

GREEK writers of the classical period used to insert in their texts now and then allusions to mythological stories, counting on the intelligence of the general reading public to understand them. Such allusions may be found in almost any kind of text, including scientific treatises and didactic poems such as the *Cynegetica* of Oppian, which describe in a poetical language the prosaic theme of the various techniques of hunting with dogs. According to present scholarly opinion these *Cynegetica* were not written by Oppian of Cilicia who wrote the *Halieutica*, another didactic poem which deals with the techniques of fishing, but by another Oppian, now usually called Pseudo-Oppian.[1] His home is Apamea in Syria and his poem, written in four books, is dedicated to the Emperor Caracalla, according to the introductory verses. It was perhaps published when the Emperor in the year 215 spent the winter in Antioch.[2] A number of manuscripts of the *Cynegetica* are preserved,[3] three of which are richly illustrated. The oldest of these is a codex in the Marcian Library in Venice, gr. 479, which once belonged to the famous library of Cardinal Bessarion.[4]

On stylistic and palaeographical grounds the Venetian codex has usually been dated in the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. The human figures show now and then a certain stiffness, a lack of understanding of the contrappostic stance, a hardening of the drapery and a geometrization of the highlights (figs. 101, 114, 118-19) which, in our opinion, exclude the possibility of a tenth century origin. The characteristics, men-

[1] Th. H. Martin, *Études sur la vie et les oeuvres d'Oppien de Cilicie*, Paris 1863.—A. Ausfeld, *De Oppiano et scriptis sub ejus nomine traditis*, Gotha 1876.—O. Tüselmann, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Oppians Kynegetika* (Jahresber. der Klosterschule Ilfeld), Nordhausen 1890.—R. Keydell, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Oppianos, col. 703. (Here the older bibliography can be found.) Text editions: P. Boudreaux, *Oppien d'Apamée, La Chasse* (*Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Etudes*, vol. 172), Paris 1908.—Oppian, ed. A. W. Mair. Loeb Classical Library, London 1928. (In both these books the older editions are quoted.)

[2] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Marcellus von Side* (Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. Philos.-Hist. Klasse), Berlin 1928, p. 25.

[3] For their stemma, cf. Boudreaux, *op. cit.*, p. 14ff.

[4] A. M. Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibl. Cod. Mss.*, Venice 1740, p. 251.—O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford 1911, p. 483 and figs. 158, 288, 289.—A. W. Byvanck, "De geïllustreerde Handschriften van Oppianus' Cynegetica," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, v, 1925, pp. 34ff.—Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, vol. II, Paris 1926, p. 602 and figs. 283-284.—St. J. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie*, Cracow 1928, p. 166 and XXVII and figs. 77-79.—W. Lameere, "Apamée de Syrie et les Cynégétiques du Pseudo-Oppien dans la miniature byzantine," *Bull. de l'Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, XIX, 1938, pp. 1ff.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 98ff., 138ff. and *passim* and figs. 61, 72, 82, 122-123, 133-134.

tioned above, occur to some extent already in the miniatures of two manuscripts written for Basil II (976-1025), the menologion in the Vatican, cod. gr. 1613, and the Psalter in Venice, cod. gr. 17, the latter of which belongs surely in the second half of the Emperor's reign.[5] The painter of the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript has gone farther in the direction of a harder and more conventionalized style, and for this reason its miniatures cannot, we believe, be dated before the eleventh century.

The other two illustrated copies of the *Cynegetica* are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: cod. gr. 2736, which belongs in the second half of the fifteenth century, and cod. gr. 2737 from the year 1554 A.D.[6] As Byvanck has stated and Lameere reiterated with additional proof, the miniatures of these two Paris manuscripts are copied from the Venetian codex. They do not show a single feature which would make the assumption of a second model necessary, and therefore they can be omitted entirely from our investigation.

The Venetian codex is adorned with more than a hundred and fifty frieze-like miniatures[7] which are interspersed in the writing columns just where the text requires them. On occasion, where the content of a short passage could pictorially not be expressed in a single frieze picture, two or three miniatures follow each other without textual interruption.

From the point of view of iconography and relationship to the text, the miniatures can easily be divided into two groups. The first, and by far the larger one, is related to the main content of the didactic poem and includes all those pictures which have to do with the hunting proper, i.e. the qualification and equipment of the hunter, the techniques of hunting, the various races of horses and dogs employed in it, including even some quadrupeds and other animals which have nothing in particular to do with hunting. They constitute what might be called the "scientific group" and are extremely close to the text, containing hardly any element which could not be explained by it. They are just as much needed as a complement to the writing as plants are in the herbals of Nicander and Dioscurides, in order to make the text more fully understandable. For this reason they were in all likeliness associated with the text already in the archetype, i.e. in the early third century A.D. when the *Cynegetica* were written.

One might even go a step farther and raise the question whether the miniatures illustrating the techniques of hunting and various species of animals

[5] Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pp. 29ff.—S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion*, XV, 1940-41, pp. 104ff.

[6] H. Bordier, *Description des peintures dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1883, pp. 270 and 286.—Lameere, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 6 with a complete bibliography.

[7] Seven folios, which, too, most likely had some miniatures, are now lost (fols. 5, 9, 25, 28, 31, 34, 37). Only the text, but not the pictures, was replaced at a later time.

were actually invented for the Pseudo-Oppian text at all, or whether at least a good many of them were not already in those texts which Pseudo-Oppian had used as models. In other words, there may have existed illustrations in treatises about hunting and animals already before the time of Pseudo-Oppian, and these may have been available to the first painter of the *Cynegetica*. That this is more than a mere speculation, may be demonstrated by an example. On folio 52ᵛ of the Venetian manuscript there is a miniature[8] illustrating the ichneumon which overcomes the venomous asp by a trick (III, 433ff.). The same story is told also in Nicander's *Theriaca* (verses 190ff.). The Dioscurides manuscript in the Morgan Library in New York, cod. M. 652, which contains at the end a paraphrase of Nicander's *Theriaca*, shows for the corresponding passage a miniature of an ichneumon biting an asp,[9] very similar to the one in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript. This, then, suggests that the picture of the ichneumon and the asp goes back, beyond the time of origin of Pseudo-Oppian, at least into the second century B.C., when Nicander wrote the *Theriaca* and had them illustrated.[10]

However, our primary concern is not the group of scientific miniatures, but the second group which comprises mythological subjects to which Pseudo-Oppian refers on occasion for the sole purpose of enriching his poetical language. This second group is much smaller, consisting of only about twenty-five miniatures out of a total of more than a hundred and fifty. It is characteristic of most of these non-scientific pictures that they contain details which cannot be explained by the Pseudo-Oppian text alone. They need a fuller text in order to be understood in all their details. Obviously they are miniatures which had migrated from other sources into the Pseudo-Oppian text, just as in the Pseudo-Nonnus text pictures had been taken over from an illustrated mythological handbook and similar texts. Thus our chief concern will be to determine the texts in which the miniatures originated, before they were taken over into the *Cynegetica*.

The division of the Pseudo-Oppian miniatures into a scientific and a non-scientific group can, by the very nature of such an investigation, be made only approximately. Sometimes one miniature contains elements of both groups, and sometimes the elements are so fused that it is difficult to separate them again for analytical purposes and to trace them back to their original sources. But these cases are comparatively few and do not alter in principle our concept of the two different groups as outlined above.

Our description of the Pseudo-Oppian miniatures will be confined to those of the second group, examining in each case their relation to the text of the

[8] Unpublished. Photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University.

[9] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbaei de Materia Medica*, 2 vols. (facsimile), Paris 1935, folio 345ʳ.

[10] On this point cf. also Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 138ff.

Cynegetica and at the same time searching for the basic text which would explain them more fully. In this manner we hope to produce the evidence for the existence of a number of illustrated classical texts from which the pictures were excerpted and taken over into the Pseudo-Oppian text. Only after the miniatures have thus been analyzed in detail and their peculiar character studied, will we be in a position to discuss the question of when the migrated miniatures were added, whether already in the third century when the archetype was made, or shortly thereafter, or perhaps even considerably later.

B. THE MYTHOLOGICAL AND OTHER NON-SCIENTIFIC MINIATURES

1. *Dedication and Invocation*

The poem begins (I, 1-4): "To thee, blessed one, I sing: thou glorious bulwark of the earth, lovely light of the warlike sons of Aeneas, sweet scion of the Ausonian Zeus, Antoninus, whom Domna bare to Severus, mighty mother to mighty sire."[1] This dedication to Caracalla, the son of Julia Domna is illustrated in the first miniature (fig. 100). Being on the first leaf, which must have been much exposed, perhaps when the codex was at some time without a cover, the picture is more badly damaged than any other in the manuscript and many details are gone. Nevertheless, the essential features of the composition can still be recognized fairly clearly. In the center sits the Emperor, inscribed *ἀντωνῖνο(ς)*, enthroned in front of a walled building with a huge door which probably is meant to represent the imperial residence. He is accompanied by a court official in a short tunic, and he receives the poet, inscribed *ὀππιανός*, who offers his work with veiled hands in the way the Evangelists in Early Christian and mediaeval monuments offer the Gospel book to Christ.[2]

We may ask at once, could such a composition have been the title miniature in the archetype of the *Cynegetica*? If we compare the Venetian miniature with other mediaeval dedication miniatures whose classical ancestry is beyond doubt, we will immediately notice a fundamental difference. In the frontispiece miniature of a Carolingian manuscript of the Aesop fables of Avianus in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. lat. nouv. acq. 1132, for instance, the author sits on a bench and raises his hand in a gesture of speech toward Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, the poet of the *Saturnalia*, who sits in a comfortable easy chair.[3] Of course, one may object to this paral-

[1] This and all the following translations are taken from Mair's edition in the Loeb Classical Library.

[2] As, e.g., in the cod. Vat. gr. 756. A. M. Friend, *Art Studies*, I, 1927, pl. VII, nos. 84-85.

[3] A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, No. 1), Princeton 1947, pp. 2, 6ff. and pl. I.

lel by pointing out that Macrobius is not an emperor and that for a dedication to an emperor a different composition may have existed. However, in one of the title miniatures of a treatise on surveying in a Carolingian manuscript from Fulda in the Vatican, cod. Palat. lat. 1564, the painter used the same scheme[4] by representing the *Judex referens* sitting on a bench opposite the *Imperator consultus* who sits on a throne. The essence of the composition in these two Carolingian miniatures, which surely go back to classical models, is the greater equality between the writer and the person to whom the piece of writing is dedicated, compared with the Venetian miniature where the devotional attitude of Oppian is conceived more in the spirit of a court ceremony.

This ceremonial character is enhanced by the veiling of Oppian's hands. Furthermore, one hardly would expect an ancient poet to be clad in a short tunic, though this argument is admittedly weak in view of the fact that costumes change easily in the process of repeated copying.[5] Thus for various reasons we consider the Venetian miniature to be a later invention and not a creation of the period of Caracalla.

The dedication is followed by the invocation (I, 16-19): "Fain then am I to sing the glorious devices of the chase. So biddeth me Calliope, so Artemis herself. I hearkened, as is meet, I hearkened to the heavenly voice, and I answered the goddess, who first to me spoke thus." Thereupon Artemis advises Oppian (I, 35-36) to "sing the battles of wild beasts and hunting men; sing of the breeds of hounds and the varied tribes of horses." The miniature illustrating this invocation (fig. 101)[6] depicts various animals which Oppian is going to treat in his poem. On a wavy groundline, a lion, an elephant, a rhinoceros, and a jackal can be identified, and above them, in another row, a wolf, a bear, a boar, and a gazelle. These animals are incongruous with the text passage, which mentions only hounds and horses, and these, in fact, are lacking in the miniature. This clearly indicates that the miniature was not invented for the passage with which it is associated. On the other hand, all eight animals represented in the picture occur in later miniatures, where they are more properly described or at least mentioned.[7] So we can be quite sure that this miniature was made up from elements that existed elsewhere in the same manuscript.

At the right stands Oppian, a bearded man in a short tunic as he appeared

[4] H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit* (Kunstgesch. Jahrb. der K. K. Zentral-Kommission), 1910, pl. XIId.

[5] Cf. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 157ff.

[6] L. Bréhier, *L'Art byzantin*, Paris 1924, fig. 17.

[7] Lion, elephant, rhinoceros, and jackal occur among other animals in a collective miniature on fol. 3r. Wolf, bear, boar, and gazelle have their parallels on fols. 32v, 4v, 4r, 29r, and in several other miniatures.

in the preceding miniature, and at the left a woman, deeply veiled like a matron. According to the text she may be either Calliope or Artemis. Like Artemis in the text, she speaks, yet the following miniature (fig. 102) will show that the painter had a somewhat more precise notion of what the goddess of the hunters should look like. The identification as Calliope, therefore, seems preferable. But no matter whom the artist had in mind, it is obvious that the figure is not copied from a classical prototype, and the same is true of the figure of the poet. As a whole, the compound composition has a certain affinity to that of the naming of the animals by Adam as it is found in various manuscripts of the Book of Genesis.[8] Here Adam stands in front of the animals like the Muse in the Venetian picture, and behind the animals the Lord takes the same place as Oppian. So in all probability a Christian composition of this type was used as a model for the convocation miniature.

The second book of the *Cynegetica*, too, opens with an invocation for the aid of Artemis (II, 1-4): "Come now, daughter of Zeus, fair-ankled Phoebe, maid of the golden snood, twin birth with Apollo, declare, I pray thee, who among men and mighty heroes received at thy hands the glorious devices of the chase." The miniature accompanying this passage (fig. 102)[9] represents Oppian at the right, inscribed ὁ ποιητ(ής), with an imploring gesture, and Artemis at the left, inscribed ἄρτεμις, standing in front of a temple-like building. The poet, clad once more in a short tunic, but this time long-sleeved and embroidered, is just as unantique as in the two previous miniatures, while the armor of Artemis and her attributes of bow and quiver indicate some knowledge of an ancient Artemis type. On the other hand, as the goddess of the hunt she should not wear a long peplos under the armor or hold a shield, features more proper for Athena. The artist, with apparently only a limited knowledge of classical mythology, seems to have combined features from both virginal goddesses.

The conclusion is that none of the three introductory miniatures was either invented for the archetype or taken over from another classical text, but that all of them are additions of a later period, partly based on elements in other miniatures of the same manuscript, partly made up from the text in a Byzantine style and spirit.

2. *Achilles and Xanthus*

Pseudo-Oppian, discussing the various qualifications of horses, makes an

[8] Cf. the Touronian Bible in Bamberg, Staatsbibl., cod. misc. bibl. I fol. 7ᵛ (W. Koehler, *Die Schule von Tours*, vol. I, Berlin 1930, pl. 56a) and the Genesis of Millstatt in the museum of Klagenfurt, cod. VI, 19 fol. 9ʳ (J. Diemer, *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstäter Handschrift*, Vienna 1862, fig. on p. 11).

[9] Byvanck, *Medeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, v, 1925, pl. 9, no. 4. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie*, fig. 79.

excursion into mythology (I, 226-228): "Ere now in battle a horse has burst the bonds of silence and overleapt the ordinance of nature and taken a human voice and a tongue like that of man." The miniaturist gives proof of his learnedness by recognizing in Pseudo-Oppian's remark an allusion to the famous Xanthus, the horse that in Book XIX of the Iliad prophesied that Achilles would die before entering into battle against Hector. He depicts the hero, inscribed on the blue ground ἀχιλλεὺς (fig. 103),[10] in full armor, standing upon his chariot and leaning with the right arm on his spear. The left hand is stretched out in a gesture of speech toward the left horse turning its head, who must therefore be Xanthus. In front of Achilles stands his charioteer with a whip and the reins in his hands, whom the text of Pseudo-Oppian does not mention, a fact which in itself is sufficient to suggest that the miniature was invented for another text, in which the charioteer is described.

According to the Iliad, the name of Achilles' charioteer is Automedon, who plays an important role in the Xanthus episode. (XIX, 395-410): "And Automedon grasped in his hand the bright lash, that fitted it well, and leapt upon the car; and behind him stepped Achilles harnassed for fight, gleaming in his armour like the bright Hyperion. Then terribly he called aloud to the horses of his father: 'Xanthus and Balius, ye far-famed children of Podarge, in some other wise bethink you to bring your charioteer back safe to the host of the Danaans, when we have had our fill of war, and leave ye not him there dead, as ye did Patroclus.' Then from beneath the yoke spake to him the horse Xanthus, of the swift-glancing feet; on a sudden he bowed his head, and all his mane streamed from beneath the yoke-pad beside the yoke, and touched the ground; and the goddess, white-armed Hera, gave him speech: 'Aye verily, yet for this time will we save thee, mighty Achilles, albeit the day of doom is nigh thee, nor shall we be the cause thereof, but a mighty god and overpowering Fate.' "[11] A comparison of the details of these verses with those of the miniature leaves no doubt that the Homer text explains the picture more satisfactorily than the allusion of Pseudo-Oppian. Consequently we conclude that the miniature originated in an Iliad manuscript, where it was part of a large cycle of illustrations to this Homeric poem, and that the illustrator of Pseudo-Oppian copied the Xanthus miniature from such a model. The slight difference, that in the text Xanthus bows while in the miniature he turns his head, might easily be explained as an artistic device for expressing by pictorial means more effectively the idea of a discourse between horse and hero.

Unfortunately, in the Iliad manuscript of the Ambrosian Library in

[10] Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, fig. 77.

[11] *Iliad*, ed. A. T. Murray. Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge (Mass.) 1934, p. 367.

Milan,[12] the only illustrated Homer which has come down to us from classical antiquity, all miniatures of Books XVIII-XX are lost. But there is another group of classical monuments with scenes of Book XIX, including the departure of Achilles into the battle against Hector, namely the so-called *Tabulae Iliacae*, small tablets in piombino from the first century.[13] We have elsewhere tried to prove that these tablets are based on the same iconographic tradition as the miniatures of the Milan codex, and that the common archetype was an illustrated Iliad roll.[14] The great tablet in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 104)[15] represents as the last scene of Book XIX Achilles just about to ascend the chariot, on which Automedon already awaits him. The charioteer holds the reins just as he does in the miniature, but owing to the bad condition of the tablet it is not clear whether he once held a whip. A figure standing in front of the chariot is cautiously identified by Jahn as Thetis, who, as Jahn admits, is not mentioned in the Iliad in this episode. However, there is a nearly identical representation of the scene in a plaque now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 105).[16] Here Achilles is likewise just about to ascend the chariot, while Automedon stands on it and holds the reins, but the figure in front of the horses is decidedly a male youth and not Thetis. One might think of Alcimus, the second charioteer of Achilles, mentioned in verses 392-395: "And Automedon and Alcimus set them busily to yoke the horses, and about them they set the fair breast-straps, and cast bits within their jaws, and drew the reins behind to the jointed car." But a third and better preserved fragment of a tablet in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (fig. 106) shows quite clearly that this corner figure is an Achaean warrior with a plume-crested helmet and a shield. Here, however, the whole scene is much condensed because the strips, each of which is limited to one book of the Iliad, are shorter. Therefore the chariot is seen in frontal view so that only the head of Automedon becomes visible above the horses. Achilles ascending the chariot is omitted altogether and the Achaean warrior in the center, similar to the one in the corner, belongs to the scene at the left since he turns toward Achilles, who in the presence of Thetis puts on the weapons of Hephaestus.

The mounting of the chariot in the Iliac tablets depicts the moment which

[12] A. M. Cariani et Ach. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana*, Milan 1905.

[13] Published by O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn 1873.

[14] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 42ff.

[15] Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 22, no. A and pl. I.—U. Mancuso, *La Tabula Iliaca del Museo Capitolino* (Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, ser. V, XIV), Rome 1909, pp. 662ff.—Stuart Jones, *Cat. Mus. Capit.*, 1912, p. 165, no. 83 and pl. 41.

[16] *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XIX, 1924, p. 240 and fig. 2.—F. Saxl, *Mithras*, Berlin 1931, pl. 22, no. 123.—K. Bulas, "New Illustrations to the Iliad," *Am. Jour. Arch.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 112ff. and pl. XVIII.

immediately precedes the hero's dialogue with the speaking horse. In all likelihood the reliefs of the tablets and the miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian form the consecutive scenes of a larger cycle the archetype of which must have been an illustrated Iliad roll at least as early as the first century. No iconographic feature in the Venetian miniature seems to oppose its descent from a classical prototype, and the inevitable changes of the Middle Byzantine copyist are all of a stylistic nature. The most striking one is the unnatural elongation of the chariot, an alteration, typical for this period, which has its parallel in the miniature of the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus in Pseudo-Nonnus (fig. 2), a miniature derived, on equally good evidence, from a classical model.

The famous horses Xanthus and Balius play an important role already in Book XVI of the Iliad in connection with the deeds of Patroclus. At Achilles' command "Automedon led beneath the yoke the fleet horses, Xanthus and Balius, that flew swift as the winds, horses that the Harpy Podarge conceived to the West Wind . . ." (verses 148-150). Inscribed "Xanthus" and "Balius," the swift horses, drawing the chariot on which Patroclus stands charging with his lance, are represented in a Pompeian fresco of the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino (fig. 107). This scene forms part of a lengthy but partly destroyed narrative cycle from the Iliad which runs as a frieze along the walls of the triclinium, underneath another of greater height with the story of Heracles and Laomedon.[17] Only a closer study of the whole cycle may reveal which episode of the ἀριστεία of Patroclus is represented in this fresco. The fact that a slain enemy lies "backward in the dust" under the hoofs of the horses, partly covered by his enormous shield, suggests that it may be the smiting of Pyraechmes (verses 284-292). Yet verses 378-383 also seem to describe the situation: ". . . and beneath his axle-trees men kept falling headlong from their cars, and the chariots were overturned. And straight over the trench leapt the swift horses—the immortal horses that the gods gave as glorious gifts to Peleus—in their onward flight, and against Hector did the heart of Patroclus urge him on, for he was fain to smite him; but his swift horses ever bare Hector forth." Here the horses, to which the painter gave emphasis by inscribing them with their proper names, are more prominently mentioned, and also the several Trojans, covered by their shields and lying under the hoofs of the horses, relate the picture more closely to these verses.

Whatever the exact interpretation of the fresco may be, the attitudes of the two horses are very similar indeed to those in the Venetian miniature, with Xanthus likewise turning his head toward the master of the chariot as

[17] These frescoes are briefly mentioned in: G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura ellenistico-romana*, Milan 1929, p. 40 and pl. LXVII.—W. Engelmann, *New Guide to Pompeii*, 1929, p. 137.—K. Bulas, *Les Illustrations antiques de l'Iliade*, Lwow 1929, p. 121.—A. Maiuri, *Pompei*, Rome 1931, p. 72.

if he were talking to him. It may well be, although this would have to be confirmed by the other scenes of the same fresco cycle, that we have here an Iliad cycle of the same recension to which the Iliad tablets belong and upon which, ultimately, also the Venetian miniature may be based.

3. *The Alexander Romance*

"Bucephalas, the horse of the warrior king of Macedon, fought against armed men" (I, 229-230). These two verses of Pseudo-Oppian are followed by a miniature (fig. 108)[18] which does not illustrate the text exactly, since no "fight against armed men" is represented in it. Nevertheless, the picture is somehow related to this passage because it depicts the famous horse of Alexander, inscribed βουκεφάλας. A groom brings it to a distinguished man, seated on a cushioned chair, who by the inscription φίλιππος is identified as the king of the Macedonians. Philip wears a chlamys and a pearl-studded crown like a Byzantine emperor, and his hand, stretched forward in a gesture of speech, indicates that he is discussing the horse presented to him. Certainly Pseudo-Oppian cannot have been the text on which this miniature is based.

Verses 231-232 of Pseudo-Oppian take up already a new subject: "A horse there was which ran with light feet over the corn-ears and brake them not; another ran over the sea and wetted not his coronet." These two verses are written on the next page on the blue background of a miniature which illustrates a horse galloping over a cornfield and a second one running over a body of water (fig. 112).[19] However, this miniature is separated from the one with Philip and Bucephalas by two more pictures (fig. 109) for which no textual basis exists in the *Cynegetica*. There can be no doubt that these supernumerary miniatures, which represent stories centered again on Bucephalas, are intrusions. One of them depicts the horse behind an iron grating, and the other shows Alexander, inscribed ἀλέξανδρ(ος), riding on the famous steed in pursuit of Darius, inscribed δαρεῖος, who has turned to flight on a chariot. Like Philip, Alexander is dressed as a Byzantine emperor in chlamys and wears a pearl-studded crown, whereas Darius' headgear is meant to be a Persian miter, though the painter had apparently no knowledge of its actual shape. The Persian king, in full armor, tries to protect himself with a shield against the hard-pressing Alexander, while the charioteer drives on the fleeing horses. The chariot shows the same unnatural elongation we observed in the Achilles miniature (fig. 103).

Obviously the illustrator took Pseudo-Oppian's reference to Bucephalas as an excuse for copying from another model three related miniatures, all

[18] Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, fig. 78.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 145 and figs. 133-134.

[19] G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, II, Paris 1900, fig. on p. 473.—Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 158.—Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, no. 2.—Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, fig. 78.

of which deal with the famous horse of Alexander. If the text can be found which explains satisfactorily these three miniatures, we can be sure to have identified also the source from which the pictures were copied. This source can only have been an illustrated Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.[20] Here the passage about Bucephalas (I, 13) reads as follows: "And once the chiefs of the horsekeepers from Cappadocia brought as a gift to Philip a horse, immensely large and secured by many bonds, and it was said of it that it ate men. Philip saw that he was beautiful and he said: 'True is the proverb: Near to blessing, and beside it, grows up evil too.[21] But since you had hurried to bring him, take him and enclose him unbridled behind an iron grating, so that we may throw to him those who under the law are caught for piracy or murder.' And quickly there was carried out what the king had said."[22]

This passage explains the first two of our three miniatures. In the first (fig. 108) we see the huge horse, unbridled and guided by one of the chief keepers, who brings it to King Philip. Since the text speaks of ἄρχοντες in the plural, the prototype may well have had more than one keeper, and therefore the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian may have abbreviated his model. The apparent resistance in the attitude of the horse pictorializes clearly its indomitable character. In the next scene (fig. 109) Bucephalas is imprisoned behind the iron grating as the Pseudo-Callisthenes text tells us. Upon its thigh we recognize the head of an ox, from which it derived its name. There was also such a brand, now mostly flaked off, on the Bucephalas of the preceding miniature, and it appears again in the third scene. It is a detail once more in full accord with the Pseudo-Callisthenes text (I, 15), which says: "The horse was called Bucephalas, because it had branded upon its thigh the head of an ox."[23]

It is no surprise to find that the third scene, too, can be explained by the Pseudo-Callisthenes text. There the pursuit of Darius in the battle of Arbela is told in the following words (II, 16): "The Macedonians were led forward by Alexander, who was riding upon his horse Bucephalas. And nobody could approach the horse because of his divine nature. . . . After many of the Persians had come to their deaths, Darius swung around the reins of his own chariot and the whole crowd of Persians took to flight."[24] Once more the chief elements of the miniature, the pursuing Alexander on the indomitable horse and Darius in the chariot taking to flight, conform to a passage in the Romance.

[20] J. Zacher, *Pseudokallisthenes*, Halle 1867.—A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig 1907.—W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. I, recensio vetusta, Berlin 1926.

[21] From Menander's Πλόκιον. Cf. Th. Kock, *Com. Att. Fgt.*, III, Leipzig 1888, p. 119, no. 407.

[22] Kroll, p. 14; Ausfeld, p. 37.

[23] Kroll, p. 16; Ausfeld, p. 38.

[24] Kroll, p. 86; Ausfeld, p. 72.

The Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes was very popular in the late classical and mediaeval periods in the East as well as in the West, and it was translated into no less than twenty-four languages. Among the manuscripts preserved there are a number with illustrations, of which we may mention here only a few Eastern ones: two Greek codices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one in Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Barocci 17, with a series of much flaked miniatures,[25] and the other in San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice with numerous full-page miniatures[26]; two Serbian manuscripts, one of the fourteenth century in the National Library in Belgrade[27] and the other of the fifteenth century in the National Library in Sofia,[28] both with crude, but vivid narrative miniatures; and, further, several Armenian manuscripts,[29] dating between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. These manuscripts are all late in date, but seem to have a common root in an early Greek model.[30] The Alexander miniatures in the Venetian Pseudo-Oppian are not only considerably earlier than any of the above-mentioned Greek, Serbian, and Armenian manuscripts, but their character reflects much more clearly an early archetype.

The first of the above-mentioned manuscripts, the one in Oxford, represents among its illustrations the imprisoned horse behind the iron grating (fig. 111) in a composition which has sufficient affinity to the Venetian miniature to strengthen our thesis that the latter is indeed derived from an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes. Though the iron bars are horizontal and vertical and the lateral walls are missing, yet the type of Bucephalas, standing behind the iron grating toward the right with the left foreleg raised, is much the same in both. In addition, we see in the Oxford miniature King Philip, much destroyed but still identifiable by his crown, with the right hand extended as if

[25] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. I, Codices Graeci, Oxford 1853, col. 26.

[26] N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, Paris 1891, pp. 174-175.—Κουκουλές, Ἐπετ. Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδ., III, 1926, p. 11 and figs. 1-2.

[27] V. R. Petkovic, "Le Roman d'Alexandre illustré de la Bibl. Nat. de Beograd" *Studi byzantini e neoellenici*, VI, 1940, pp. 341ff. and pls. XCIV-CIII.

[28] Цонев, Опис Славянските ръкописи, II, Sofia 1923, p. 432, pls. L-LII.—A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris 1928, p. 108 and pls. XII-XVI.

[29] (a) Venice, San Lazzaro, cod. 424, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (F. Macler, *L'Enluminure arménienne profane*, Paris 1928, p. 21 and pls. I-XIV); (b) Vienna, Mekhitarist monastery, cod. 422, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (Macler, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and pl. XIV); (c) Princeton, Univ. Libr. (*olim* New York, Coll. Aharon), fourteenth-fifteenth centuries (Macler, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and pls. XV-XIX); (d) Vienna, Mekhitarist monastery, cod. 319, A° 1694 (Macler, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and pls. XX-XLV); (e) Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. arm. 291, A° 1712 (Macler, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and pls. XLVI-LIX).

[30] Xyngopoulos has been able to show the influence of the Alexander illustration on Byzantine pottery: Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 192-202.—*Idem*, Ἐπετ. Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπουδ., XIV, 1938, pp. 267-276.

to give the order for the imprisonment of Bucephalas. It is quite understandable that the illustrator of the Venetian manuscript omitted the figure of the king, because his interest in connection with the Pseudo-Oppian text was centered upon Bucephalas. We have to reckon with abbreviations and changes in the process of transferring the miniature from one text to another, and although we can no longer check it for the other two miniatures, the same may have happened here. We mentioned already that the first miniature may have had more than one horsekeeper and this suggestion is confirmed by an ancient relief which, in our opinion, represents the same scene.

There is a fragment of an Iliac tablet in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 110)[31] which, rubbed as it is, shows at the left an "immensely large" horse led by a groom to a seated man. Behind these figures appears a crowd of soldiers, partly in Greek and partly in oriental costumes, and some of them also hold horses. The first and only attempt to identify this scene was made by Garrucci, and he already connected it with the Alexander story. Jahn quotes this identification, but remains sceptical, and due to his cautious verdict Garrucci's interpretation was never taken up again. Now, since the figures in the first plane of the relief, i.e. the horse led by a groom to a seated man, show an obvious resemblance to the first of the three Pseudo-Oppian miniatures (fig. 108), Garrucci's description of the relief deserves new consideration. He takes it to be an illustration of the return of Bucephalas, stolen by the Mardians and then brought back after Alexander had threatened a massacre in retaliation if the horse were not returned immediately.[32] However, the great similarity of the relief with the Byzantine miniature, as far as the compositional scheme is concerned, suggests that the relief and the miniature may represent the same episode, i.e. the bringing of Bucephalas before Philip. The crowd behind the figures in the foreground of the relief could be explained as the other chiefs of the horsekeepers from Cappadocia, about whom the text speaks in the plural. The oriental costume of some of them would suit the Cappadocians just as well as the Mardians. Even so, Garrucci's interpretation must not necessarily be excluded, because one could imagine a picture cycle in which two similar episodes were represented in somewhat similar compositional schemes.

If the interpretation of the tablet as an episode of the Alexander story is accepted, it obviously has far-reaching consequences for the problem of the

[31] G. P. Secchi, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1843, p. 191.—W. Henzen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XXV, 1853, pp. 83ff. —R. Garrucci, *Illustrazione de un frammento di cronaca greca e di un bassorelievo rappresentante un avventura del Bucefala* (Memor. della. Reg. Accad. Ercolanense di Archeologia, IV, pt. 1), 1852, pp. 309, 335ff. and pl.—W. Henzen, "Eine neuentdeckte griechische Zeittafel," *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. IX, 1854, p. 161ff.—O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, 1873, pp. 8 and 54 and pl. VI, no. L.—*C.I.G.*, IV, 6855d.—Stuart Jones, *Cat. Mus. Capit.*, 1912, p. 164, no. 82 and pl. 43.

[32] Diodorus Siculus XVII, 76; Plutarch, *Alex.* XLIV; Arrian V, 19, 6; *Curtius Rufus* VI, 5, 18.

earliest illustration of the Alexander Romance. Since the relief is to be dated in about the first century B.C. or A.D., it would mean that a pictorial cycle of the Alexander story existed even before the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes was written. Ausfeld dates the first recension (the so-called A recension) in the second or third century A.D. and Kroll around 300 A.D. However, both agree that the fabulous stories about Alexander are considerably older than the Pseudo-Callisthenes text, and that they go far back in the Hellenistic period.[33] Therefore, we would have to conclude that the first painter to illustrate the Pseudo-Callisthenes text, perhaps not very long after the text was written, had already an older illustrated text of the Alexander story at his disposal, from which he copied probably quite a few of its miniatures. We would then have a case similar to that of the scientific miniatures of the *Cynegetica*, where we argued (p. 95) that some of the animal pictures must be older than the original Pseudo-Oppian text.

4. *Pegasus*

The next mythical horse mentioned by Pseudo-Oppian is Pegasus, although the verse (I, 233), "A horse carried above the clouds him that slew the Chimera," does not give his name. In the Venetian manuscript this verse is written on the pink background of a miniature illustrating the fight of Bellerophon, inscribed *βελεροφόντ(ης)*, against the monstrous animal, inscribed *χίμαιρα* (fig. 112).[34] Bellerophon is represented in heroic nakedness, clad only with a chlamys that flutters behind the shoulder. He raises the right hand in a rather meaningless gesture of speech which is the result of a misunderstanding caused by the omission of a lance in the hero's hand. The Chimera is depicted with all the details described in classical sources, i.e. as a lion with a dragon's head at its tail and a fire-spitting goat's head upon the back. The accuracy of these details makes it clear that the painter could not have constructed this scene from the vague allusion in the Pseudo-Oppian text, but that he must have had a classical representation as model.

It may be remembered that a representation of the same theme occurred also among the miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus (figs. 23-24), where, however, the Chimera is reversed and jumping at the hero. Otherwise the types of Bellerophon and the monster agree in the most essential points. Even the landscape background, where rocky mountains on either side make the fight seem to take place in a valley, is essentially similar, although the rocks are reduced in scale in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature because of lack of space. The reversal of the Chimera does not require the assumption of a second re-

[33] Cf. also W. Schmid-O. Stählin in Christ's *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, VII, II, 2, 6th ed. Munich 1924, pp. 813-816.

[34] For another reproduction of this miniature cf. note 18.

cension, but can easily be explained as the result of a condensation whereby hero and animal became partly superimposed. In all likelihood the Pseudo-Oppian painter used the same classical model as the Pseudo-Nonnus painter, i.e. a mythological handbook like Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*. We shall see later that this is not the only scene in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript which suggests the use of a mythological handbook of this kind as model.

In several respects the Bellerophon miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian is even closer to the Roman sarcophagus in the Villa Pamfili (fig. 25) than the corresponding miniature in the Pseudo-Nonnus. They are alike not only in the reversal of the Chimera, but in other details such as the bending of Bellerophon's raised arm which is meant to hold the lance, the turning of the hero's head, the bell-shaped fluttering chlamys, and the framing of the fight by trees.

The subject of Bellerophon's fight against the Chimera was repeatedly copied in the late classical and early mediaeval period, e.g. in an ivory relief in the British Museum that belongs to about the fifth cent. A.D. (fig. 113).[35] Certain features such as the attitude of the Chimera with forelegs collapsed, the neckless goat's head placed upon the lion's back, and the addition of mushroom-shaped trees, relate this plaque quite closely to the Pseudo-Oppian miniature. On the other hand, on the ivory Bellerophon is clad in a long-sleeved tunic, which makes him look more mediaeval than the Bellerophon of the Byzantine miniature. This indicates that the miniature is in some respects more classical than the fifth century ivory, a fact which is by no means surprising in view of the revival movement of the tenth century.

5. *Bridal Scene*

"What time the mating impulse seizes the mare and she abides the approach of the glorious high-spirited horse, then they cunningly adorn the beautiful sire. All about they inscribe all his body with spots of color and to his bride they lead him, glorying in his beauty. Even as some youth, arrayed by the bridal women in white robes and purple flowers and breathing of the perfume of Palestine, steps into the bridal chamber singing the marriage song, so while the hasting horse neighs his bridal song, long time in front of his bride they stay her glorious spouse, foaming in his eagerness; and late and at last they let him go to satisfy his desire. And the mare conceives and bears a many-patterned foal . . ." (I, 333-346). This passage is illustrated by a miniature in two strips (fig. 114).[36] The lower one represents a stallion led by a groom toward a mare, separated by a tree from a

[35] O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the British Museum*, London 1909, p. 4, no. 6 and pl. III.

[36] Schlumberger, *L'Épopée*, II, fig. on p. 149.—Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, no. 3.

second episode where the mare is shown licking its newborn foal. Particularly the latter group shows a keen sense of observation, bearing witness to the artist's ability to copy faithfully a good classical model. This lower strip belongs to the original group of scientific animal pictures, in contrast to the upper one, which, in apparent parallelism to the horses below, illustrates a bridal scene, made up of heterogeneous elements and revealing itself thereby as a later addition.

The bridegroom is dressed in an imperial chlamys and wearing a pearl-studded crown. He is headed by a boy who leads the way with a candle in his right hand and a bottle, supposedly containing the "perfume of Palestine," in his left. Both figures are obviously copied from Biblical miniatures of the Byzantine period. The imperial bridegroom may be compared with the figure of Hezekiah in the Cosmas Indicopleustes of the Vatican, cod. gr. 699 (fig. 115)[37] from a scene in which the King is repudiated by Isaiah for having shown his treasures to the Babylonians. The closest parallel to the boy is the personification of Orthros who in a Prophet book in the Vatican, cod. gr. 755 (fig. 116)[38] walks in front of the praying Isaiah. The Orthros boy, too, holds a candle rather than a torch as he does in the same scene of the well-known Paris Psalter,[39] where this figure is surely closer to its prototype. Apparently the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian used some such miniatures of a so-called aristocratic Psalter or a Prophet book as models for the bridegroom and his guide.

The two "bridal women in white robes and purple flowers" are neither clad in white robes nor decorated with purple flowers—an indication that they, too, are not made up from the Pseudo-Oppian text, but are borrowings from another source. One of them, dancing with cymbals, is clad in a blue garment, and the other, dancing with torches, wears a red dress and a blue veil, and the behavior of both is not that of women stepping into a bridal chamber. Obviously they are ancient Maenads who once formed part of a Dionysian scene. A Campagna relief in the British Museum (fig. 117)[40] representing a Maenad with a blown-up veil twisted around her arms and swinging a torch over her head may be cited as one of many instances of classical art. Yet this type is so general that it is impossible to determine the exact scene of which the dancer was a part, and the same is true of the other Maenad with the cymbals, who obviously is copied from the same or a similar scene of the same model. Similar Maenads occur repeatedly, as we shall see later, on contem-

[37] C. Stornajolo, *Le Miniature della Topografia Cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste Codice Vaticano greco 699* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. x), Milan 1908, pl. 55.

[38] A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte*, II, 1902, p. 448 and fig. 315.—Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, p. 12.

[39] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII.—Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London 1938, pl. XIII.

[40] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, London 1903, p. 384, no. D525 and pl. XLI.

porary Byzantine ivory caskets (fig. 231), where they sometimes are still in the original context of the Bacchic thiasus. The dancers in the miniature and in the ivories are so similar that the use of the same classical model by the artists of the two different media can be assumed with reasonable certainty. Very likely the eleventh century miniaturist was still aware of the original meaning of these dancing women when he transformed them from Maenads into brides.

This miniature is especially revealing of the mentality and the working method of the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript. It consists of three heterogeneous elements: the horse scene, which belongs to the scientific group of miniatures, the bridegroom and the candle boy, who were copied from Biblical miniatures, and the two dancing women who hark back to a classical representation of the Bacchic thiasus. Only the first part is an exact illustration of the Pseudo-Oppian passage, while the other two, in the nature of all borrowed elements, require different sources for their full explanation.

6. *Laconian Women Giving Birth*

"Nay, even so also the Laconians contrived a subtle device for their dear wives when they are pregnant. Near them they put pictures of beautiful forms, even the youths that aforetime were resplendent among mortal men, Nireus and Narcissus and Hyacinthus of the goodly ashen spear, and Castor with his helmet, and Polydeuces that slew Amycus, and the youthful twain who are admired among the blessed gods, laurel-crowned Phoebus and Dionysus of the ivy wreath. And the women rejoice to behold their lovely form and, fluttered by their beauty, bear beautiful sons" (I, 358-367). This passage is illustrated by a miniature in three strips, two of which are located at the bottom of one page (fig. 118) and the third at the top of the next (fig. 119).

In the first strip a woman, veiled like a matron, sits on a chair with a high back and raises her left hand in a gesture of speech toward four men. The first and the last are characterized as soldiers by their shields, spears, and high-crested helmets. Between them stand two youths in long, richly embroidered tunics who hold their right hands before their breasts—a gesture which seems quite meaningless since the hands hold nothing. The woman represents one of the pregnant Laconian wives, the gesture of her right hand indicating the throes of birth. She looks at the four resplendent youths, who according to the text are "Nireus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus, and Castor with his helmet." None of them is represented as a classical type. Nireus, whose beauty was proverbial, would have been rendered in classical art in heroic nakedness as he is in the Telephus frieze from Pergamon, if Robert's identifi-

cation of one of the warriors in this frieze as Nireus is correct.[41] The same is true for Narcissus, who in classical frescoes and mosaics is always nude, and also for Hyacinthus who marvels in his naked beauty as a nude boy beside Apollo in a marble group[42] and as a discobol on a gem on which his name is inscribed.[43]

The types of youths in our miniature are conventional and apparently copied from a Christian model. They resemble the martyrs in menologia, who are lined up in a similar fashion and often superimposed in several rows. As an example, we may cite a full-page miniature of a manuscript in Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 580. Here the saints of the month of November are lined up in three strips, the first figure in the last row being St. Mercurius (fig. 120).[44] He is the type of soldier-saint, standing in frontal view with lance and shield, used to represent many of his kind, like St. George, St. Theodore, and others. There can hardly be any doubt that the figures of Nireus and Castor are derived from such a model. Narcissus and Hyacinthus, too, have their closest parallels in youthful martyrs, many of whom wear richly embroidered long tunics and hold in the right hand the cross of martyrdom, which, of course, had to be dropped in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature, so that the gesture of the raised hand is now meaningless. A menologion in Vienna, cod. hist. gr. 6, represents among the saints of the month of October, arranged in four rows, several martyrs of this type (fig. 121).[45]

The next beautiful youth mentioned by Pseudo-Oppian is "Polydeuces that slew Amycus." Instead of another saint type in frontal position, the illustrator depicted the episode in which Polydeuces, inscribed *πολυδεύκης*, defeats Amycus, the king of the Bebryces, inscribed *ἄμυκος ὁ βρουυχτ*(?),[46] in a boxing match. In contrast to the preceding youths, both combatants are nude, wearing only a loincloth—a first indication that a classical model may here be involved. Moreover, the Pseudo-Oppian text says nothing of how Polydeuces killed his adversary, but in depicting a boxing match the illustrator is in accord with all ancient literary sources.[47] Apollodorus, our primary source for mythological representations, describes the adventure in the fol-

[41] *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, II, 1887, p. 255.

[42] Greve, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Hyacinthus, col. 2765 with figure.

[43] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the British Museum*, London 1926, p. 198, no. 1865.

[44] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. CII.

[45] H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna 1926, p. 30 and pl. XVII.—P. Buberl-H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, vol. II (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, vol. VIII, pt. 4), Leipzig 1938, p. 38 and pl. XIV.

[46] Perhaps a corrupt form of *βέβρυξ?*

[47] Apollodorus I, IX, 20; Theocritus XXII, 27; Apollonius Rhodius II, 1; Valerius Flaccus IV, 99; Hyginus, Fab. 17, etc.

lowing way (I, IX, 20): "Being a doughty man he [i.e. Amycus] compelled the strangers that landed to box and in that way made an end of them. So going to the Argo as usual, he challenged the best man of the crew to a boxing match. Pollux undertook to box against him and killed him with a blow on the elbow."[48] The miniature does not quite agree with this description of a blow on the elbow, since it shows Polydeuces grasping his adversary by the hair with one hand and striking him on the head with the other. Apollodorus, then, was apparently not the basic text for the miniature. Other classical sources, however, describe the event somewhat differently, e.g. the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (II, 94-97): "And coming near and slipping his knee past the king's, with a rush he struck him above the ear, and broke the bones inside, and the king in agony fell upon his knees; and the Minyan heroes shouted for joy; and his life was poured forth all at once."[49] This text clearly fits the miniature, which depicts the blow above the ear and the victim falling to his knees. This immediately raises the question whether the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius were illustrated in classical antiquity and whether a copy of them was still available to the illustrator of the *Cynegetica*, either directly or indirectly. But, as has been already pointed out, the existence of an illustrated classical text should not be postulated on the basis of a single miniature. Therefore, unless more illustrations can be found which are explained by the text of the *Argonautica*, this issue is best left undecided, for the time being at least.

On the other hand, we know that various adventures of the Argonauts were depicted in Greek art and were even quite popular. The monuments, identified so far with the Amycus adventure, do not, however, illustrate the actual boxing match, but either the meeting of the two boxers before their fight, as may be seen on an Etruscan mirror,[50] or the scene in which the victorious Polydeuces binds the defeated Amycus to a laurel tree, as represented on the famous Ficoroni cista[51] and on an Etruscan urn.[52] It is surprising that classical art should have been content to depict the episodes preceding and following the match without representing the fight itself. Yet, so far, no classical illustration of the fight is known, so that the Venetian miniature is, to our knowledge, the only extant reflection of such a representation.

Finally, two more beautiful youths are enumerated in Pseudo-Oppian: laurel-crowned Phoebus, and Dionysus of the ivy wreath, who are repre-

[48] Frazer, I, p. 103.

[49] Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica*, ed. R. C. Seaton. Loeb Classical Library, London 1921, p. 109. This and the following translations are taken from Seaton.

[50] E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, II, Berlin 1845, pl. CLXXI.

[51] C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin 1919, pp. 105ff. and figs. 87-89.—L. Preller-C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, vol. II, pt. 3, Berlin 1921, pp. 842ff. (here the older bibliography).

[52] G. Körte, *I Relievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. II, Rome-Berlin 1890-96, pl. XXXVa.

sented in the third row at the top of the next page (fig. 119). The manner in which Apollo in a long, richly embroidered garment and Dionysus in a short tunic hold laurel and ivy branches in their hands, instead of wearing laurel-and-ivy wreaths on their heads, makes it quite certain that they do not hark back to classical prototypes. Nor do they point to any Christian model, as did the first four youths, and are most probably an imaginative rendering by the painter based directly on the Pseudo-Oppian text. Both youths look at a Laconian woman who gives birth to a child, being attended by a midwife. The latter stands behind the couch and has just delivered the babe, in much the same way as the birth of Dionysus is represented on the lid of a sarcophagus in the Vatican (fig. 122)[53] where a midwife takes the embryonic Dionysus from the womb of the dying Semele. It seems quite possible that the Byzantine illustrator chose as classical model a representation of this very birth scene, all the more since Dionysus is mentioned in the Pseudo-Oppian text as the last of the beautiful youths. Moreover, that a classical model depicting this theme was available to Middle Byzantine miniaturists we actually know from a miniature in the commentary of Pseudo-Nonnus (figs. 52-53).

The concept of the miniature as a whole is utterly un-antique. The Pseudo-Oppian text states emphatically that *pinakes*, i.e. tablets representing the beautiful youths, were placed near the pregnant women. But the women in the miniature are looking, not at such pinakes, but at the actual youths. A classical artist, if he ever rendered such a scene, would have depicted a woman in travail gazing at a painted wooden tablet, which she probably would hold in her hand, like the love-sick woman on a couch gazing at the pinax of her beloved in an Antioch mosaic now in Princeton.[54] Once more we deal with a very conglomerate miniature; the boxing match and probably the childbirth are made up from classical elements; the four youths in the first row are borrowings from a menologion; and the figures of Phoebus and Dionysus, and probably the woman in travail sitting on the chair of delivery at the beginning of the first row, are most likely inventions for the occasion.

7. *Centaur*

"By the foot of windy Pholoe did savage tribes, half-beast, half-men, human to the waist but from the waist horses, invent the chase for pastime after the banquet" (II, 5-7). This passage, which begins the description of a series of mythical hunters, is illustrated by a miniature which includes a striding

[53] A. Greifenhagen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 27ff. and pl. 2b.—G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano,* Città del Vaticano 1937, p. 214, no. 474 and pl. LXXXI.

[54] *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, *The Excavations*, II, Princeton 1938, pl. 78, no. 100.—D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 118 and pl. XXa-b.

centaur (fig. 123).[55] Unfortunately his upper part is badly rubbed, so that it is no longer clear whether he was holding an object in his right hand, while the left is stretched out in a gesture of speech toward three Satyrs. These are represented with goat's legs and horns and clad in skins, and their vivid gestures indicate that they are engaged in a violent dispute with the centaur. An inscription above their heads is badly rubbed off and unreadable.

The Pseudo-Oppian text does not mention any Satyrs. Their presence in the miniature can only be explained by assuming that the illustrator had found in some classical model a centaur associated with Satyrs, and, though he needed only the centaur for his context, he copied the Satyrs too, thus going beyond the immediate textual requirement. Centaurs and Satyrs occur together frequently in classical art in representations of the Bacchic thiasus, and some such scene must have been the model of the miniaturist of the Pseudo-Oppian. Very likely it was the same model which contained also the two Maenads of the bridal scene (fig. 114).

8. *Perseus*

The second in the series of famous hunters, enumerated by Pseudo-Oppian, is Perseus (II, 8-13): "Among men it [i.e. the chase] was invented first by him who cut off the Gorgon's head, even Perseus, the son of golden Zeus; howbeit he soared on the swift wings of his feet to capture Hares and Jackals and the tribe of wild Goats and swift Gazelles and the breeds of Oryx and the high-headed dappled Deer themselves." Two miniatures are connected with this passage, the first of which (fig. 124) represents the slaying of the Gorgon by Perseus (the inscriptions ἡ γοργὼ and ὁ περσεὺς above the frame are by a much later hand). The Gorgon has a fantastic shape, being human down to the waist and a serpent below, and with her hands she grasps some snakes issuing from her head. Perseus, clad in a tunic, plate armor, and chlamys, pierces the Gorgon with his spear in a way that fits neither Pseudo-Oppian's statement nor any other ancient text. In classical art, as represented on a sarcophagus in Budapest (fig. 125)[56] or a now destroyed fresco from Herculaneum (fig. 126),[57] the Gorgon is usually rendered as a complete human being and Perseus in heroic nakedness with a mantle fluttering from his shoulders.

In spite of these differences, one point makes the assumption that the Byzantine miniaturist harked back to a classical model not only likely, but

[55] Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, no. 4.—Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, fig. 79.

[56] J. Ziehen, *Archaeol. Epigr. Mitt.*, XIII, 1890, p. 49 and fig. 4.—Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, p. 403 and fig. 311[1].

[57] *Real Museo Borbonico*, vol. XII, Naples 1836, pl. XLVIII.—G. Loeschcke, *Die Enthauptung der Medusa*, Bonn 1894, p. 8.

necessary. In the Pseudo-Oppian miniature Perseus turns his head away from the Gorgon and looks into a kind of disc held in his left hand. The text of the *Cynegetica* gives no explanation of this detail; the clue to its meaning is found, however, in Apollodorus (II, IV, 2). "And having received also from Hermes an adamantine sickle he flew to the ocean and caught the Gorgons asleep. . . . But the Gorgons had heads twined about with the scales of dragons, and great tusks like swine's, and brazen hands, and golden wings, by which they flew; and they turned to stone such as beheld them. So Perseus stood over them as they slept, and while Athena guided his hand and he looked with averted gaze on a brazen shield, in which he beheld the image of the Gorgon, he beheaded her."[58] Now we understand that the object in the hand of Perseus is the shield of Athena in which Perseus sees the Gorgon mirrored. Athena, who in ancient monuments like the two quoted above holds the shield herself, is eliminated in the Byzantine miniature, but since the shield is absolutely necessary for the understanding of the scene, the painter represented it in the hand of Perseus. In the relief from Budapest Athena stands quietly behind Perseus and holds a shield, round as in the miniature, whereas in the fresco from Herculaneum Athena is approaching aggressively and directing her spear against the Gorgon as if she were actively helping Perseus in the slaying of the monster. Apparently from a classical model of this kind the Byzantine illustrator took not only Athena's shield but also her spear and gave them both to Perseus, as a replacement of the *harpe*, the sickle-shaped sword with which the hero beheaded the Gorgon according to all literary sources and classical representations. Obviously we have here a conflation which resulted from the omission of Athena.

So in spite of many changes and transformations we still recognize reflections of a classical model which might well have been a miniature in a manuscript of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*. From this model the Byzantine miniature has preserved the attitude of Perseus with one knee bent and head turned, the mantle fluttering from behind the shoulder, the upper part of the Gorgon with the serpents around her head, and finally Athena's weapons.

The second miniature (fig. 127) represents Perseus capturing a hare and pursuing other animals enumerated in the text: a jackal, a gazelle, a bull-like oryx, and a deer, only the goat being omitted. In contrast to the preceding miniature, Perseus is clad as a hunter in ornamented trousers and a tucked-up tunic. This hunter type, in deviation from the normal heroic type of Perseus, was apparently invented for the Pseudo-Oppian text.

There are several more miniatures in which mythical heroes are draped like ordinary hunters and therefore are straight illustrations of the Pseudo-Oppian text. Where the text says (II, 14-17) "Hunting on horseback did

[58] Frazer, I, pp. 157-159.

Castor, bringer of light, discover; and some beasts he slew by straight hurling of his javelin to the mark; others he pursued on swift horses and put them to bay in the noontide chase," Castor is represented twice as an ordinary hunter on horseback (fig. 128), first attacking a lion with his lance, and then shooting an arrow at a deer which tries to escape into the mountains.

Two more miniatures, conceived in the same spirit, illustrate the following passage (II, 18-21): "Saw-toothed dogs were first arrayed for battle with wild beasts by Polydeuces of Lacedaemon, son of Zeus; for he both slew baleful men in the battle of the fists and overcame spotted wild beasts with swift hounds." In the first miniature (fig. 129),[59] Polydeuces shoots with an arrow a boar and a deer, both of which are pursued by the "saw-toothed dogs," and in the second he boxes down two men with bleeding heads. This latter scene is particularly revealing because the painter represented Polydeuces also this time as a hunter, although he had only shortly before depicted him nude in the very same scene (fig. 118). One may even doubt whether the illustrator in repeating Polydeuces' boxing match was still aware of the identity of his opponent as Amycus. Here, as for Perseus, and for the same reason, two different types are used for the same hero: in one case the illustrator had a classical mythological scene as model and in the second he made the scene up from the *Cynegetica* text. Next to the boxing Polydeuces the hero is represented a third time and again as hunter, pursuing a deer with two hounds.

The passage (II, 22-23) "Preeminent in close combat on the hills shone the son of Oenus, warlike Meleager," has been passed over by the illustrator, whereas the next two verses (II, 24-25), "Nets again and nooses and curving hayes did Hippolytus first reveal to hunting men," are illustrated (fig. 130). Like Castor and Polydeuces, Hippolytus, too, is depicted as an ordinary hunter in ornamented trousers, pointing at a deer, a boar, and a bear, each of which he has caught in a net.

The series of mythical hunters ends with Atalanta and Orion, of whom Pseudo-Oppian says (II, 26-30): "Winged death for wild beasts did Atalanta invent, the glorious daughter of Schoeneus, the maiden huntress of the Boar. And snaring by night, the guileful hunting of the dark, crafty Orion first discovered. These were the mighty leaders of the chase in former days." In the miniature to this passage (fig. 131) Atalanta (inscribed by a later hand ἡ ἀταλάντη) approaches from the left, and Orion (inscribed by a contemporary hand ὠρίων above a star) from the right. They pursue boars with bow and arrow and drive them toward the center where one of the boars has taken refuge in a tree. Orion is clad as a hunter and Atalanta wears a long

[59] Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 289.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 98 and fig. 82.

embroidered garment with wide sleeves which looks very Byzantine indeed, and there is no indication that the illustrator may have known an ancient type of either figure.

By contrasting all these hunting scenes of mythical heroes with the illustration of the slaying of the Gorgon by Perseus, the great difference between the original scientific group of Pseudo-Oppian miniatures and those mythological scenes which have intruded from other sources becomes once more apparent.

9. *The Bucolic*

Before characterizing the different races of bulls, Pseudo-Oppian tells a story of their fight with each other, which is illustrated in four miniatures. In the first (fol. 21ʳ), two bulls, still separated by a herd of cows, face each other before the fight; in the second (fol. 21ᵛ), the battle starts and the two bulls butt each other with their horns; in the third (fol. 22ʳ), the victorious bull drives away the defeated one; and finally, in the fourth (fig. 132), the latter retires into the hills in order to gather new strength as described by Pseudo-Oppian (II, 72-76): "But the vanquished cannot endure the yoke of slavery. Ashamed and groaning heavily he goes unto a shady wood and alone among the rocks as the seasons circle round he pastures, retired among the thickets of the hill, as an athlete in training." In the miniature the retired bull stands on an elevated piece of ground, being separated by a tree from the victorious bull, who is grazing with a cow and calf.

The pastoral atmosphere of this scene is enhanced by the presence of a shepherd (inscribed βουκόλος) who stands in a frontal position with crossed legs and rests dreamily upon a staff. He is clad in classical fashion in a *tunica exomis*, and has discarded his mantle, which hangs over the branch of a tree. The text of Pseudo-Oppian does not call for a shepherd. Furthermore, the one in the picture is unusually large compared with the size of other shepherds and hunters in the Venetian manuscript, and the herd seems to have been compressed in order to make space for him. Thus for both textual and formal reasons, we consider the bucolic to be a later addition. A similar type of shepherd occurs, among other monuments, in a miniature of the Virgilius Romanus, cod. Vat. lat. 3867 (fig. 133),[60] at the beginning of the third book of the *Georgics*. The shepherds of the two manuscripts are in all probability derived from a common model, all the more so since the *Georgics* of Virgil tell the same story of the two rival bulls and the Virgilius Romanus likewise illustrates their fight, though in not as many phases as the *Cyne-*

[60] *Picturae Ornamenta Codicis Vaticani 3867* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, *vol.* II), Rome 1902, pictura VIII (fol. 44ᵛ).

getica manuscript. The common source was most likely an illustrated bucolic poem by a Greek writer of the Hellenistic period.

10. *Naumachy*

Pseudo-Oppian compares the fierceness of the fighting between the two bulls to a naval battle (II, 62-68): "Even as in battle upon the deep when the sea War-god raises strife, two ships, splendidly flashing with serried warriors face to face, clash with opposing prows front to front, sped by the violent wind and the hands of the sailors; and amid brazen armour rings the din of men and the noise of crashing ships, and the whole sea seethes and groans. . . ." This simile is illustrated by a miniature (inscribed *ναυμαχία*) (fig. 134)[61] which is somewhat out of place in the Venetian manuscript and should have preceded the one with the bucolic. The prows of two ships collide, the soldiers attack from within the ships, some sailors blow trumpets, others hold standards, and one man has fallen overboard and tries to save himself by swimming.

Representations of similar naval battles occur in the chronicle of Johannes Scylitzes in Madrid, Bibl. Nac. cod. 5-3 N-2, a manuscript of the fourteenth century, the only one of its kind preserved today.[62] In one of its naval battles depicting an event of the period of Michael II (fig. 135), the soldiers fight—as in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature—from the prows of their ships, while others hold similar standards, and in a second miniature (fol. 44^r) sailors blow trumpets as they also do in the Venetian miniature. There is hardly a detail in the latter which cannot also be found in one or another of the naval pictures of the Scylitzes manuscript. This makes it quite certain that the Pseudo-Oppian painter copied the picture of the naumachy from an historical chronicle, though it hardly could have been the one by Scylitzes since it was not written before the middle of the eleventh century. But there existed earlier chronicles of the same kind[63] which could have furnished the model for the Pseudo-Oppian painter.

11. *Apamea-on-the-Orontes*

Among the various races of bulls, Pseudo-Oppian treats "the Syrian Bulls, the breed of the Chersonese," which "pasture about high well-builded Pella" (II, 100-101). These are the bulls which Heracles had driven away after the slaying of Geryon, and the poet describes with special minuteness the local-

[61] Schlumberger, *L'Épopée*, vol. II., fig. on p. 369.—Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 288.

[62] G. Millet, *La Collection chrétienne et byzantine des Hautes Études*, Paris 1903, pp. 26, 54-68.

[63] Cf. Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, XVI, 1942-43, pp. 87ff.

ity of this episode (II, 116-177): "Since evermore in great volume rushed Orontes in his eagerness, forgetting the sea and burning with desire of the dark-eyed nymph, the daughter of Ocean. He lingered amid the heights and he covered the fertile earth, unwilling to forgo his hopeless love of Meliboea. With mountains on either side was he encircled round, mountains that on either hand leaned their heads together. From the East came the lofty form of Diocleium, and from the West the left horn of Emblonus, and in the midst himself raging in the plains, ever waxing and drawing nigh the walls, flooding with his waters that mainland at once and island, mine own city." The last remark reveals the reason for Pseudo-Oppian's interest in the topography of this part of Syria: he describes the situation of his native town, Apamea-on-the-Orontes, the ancient names of which were Chersonese and Pella.

In depicting the locality the illustrator followed the text as faithfully as he could (fig. 137). In the center is a walled city which, as Lameere keenly observed, was once inscribed ἡ ἀπάμεια.[64] But this inscription (except for the article ἡ at the left side of the building) was later erased and replaced by a more recent hand by the word ἀντιόχ(εια) below the erasure. On either side of the city rises a steep mountain and above it the river Orontes (inscribed ποτ(αμός) ὀρόντης) issues from a cornucopia held by a personification depicted in half-length and suspended in air. Another personification, a wind god, emerges from behind the mountain on the left and blows a long trumpet; and a third sits on the ground, embracing a trunk of a tree by which he is characterized as a mountain god.

The walled city as a pictorial type goes back to the Hellenistic period, when it is usually represented by a polygonal wall with towers which encloses a group of buildings.[65] In the Byzantine period this type becomes simplified: the wall takes an elliptical shape and the towers are either placed against its inner side or abandoned altogether, as may be seen in various miniatures of the Octateuchs, especially the one representing the city of Hazor.[66] Its similarity with the city of Apamea goes still further: both have in common a huge door with two heavily nailed valves, and two buildings inside the wall, one of which has a dome. This comparison shows quite clearly that the city of Apamea has no individuality, but is a formula similar to those used in Biblical manuscripts.

The river Orontes is not designed in a spatial relation to the city but seems

[64] Lameere, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff. and pl. I.

[65] F. Biebel, "The Walled Cities of the Gerasa Mosaics," *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, pp. 341ff. and pls. LXXXVIIIa; LXXXIXb; XCIIa-b; XCIVa.

[66] Th. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque du Serail*, Sofia 1907, pl. XXXIX, no. 256.—D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leyden 1909, pl. 86, no. 292.

to flow through the air and is meant to be seen in a cartographic view. In monuments of the classical and even the late classical period a river passing a city would flow below the wall, as seen in the mosaics from Gerasa, and the natural spatial relation between city and river is maintained even in a miniature of the ninth century Paris Gregory, cod. gr. 510, which represents Julian's arrival at the Euphrates,[67] although the stream crosses the scene diagonally. The rendering of a river as a floating band is a complete abandonment of the classical tradition and has its parallels in the so-called monastic Psalters, the earliest of which are from the ninth century.[68] In numerous miniatures of this recension river gods either vomit the water or let it issue from urns held as the personification of the Orontes holds the cornucopia.

The full-length personification in a reclining position is more in keeping with the classical tradition, though here, too, we meet some incongruities. Draped only with a loincloth this figure embraces the trunk of a tree, and is thus characterized as a mountain god, but his position on the ground between the city and the river seems to indicate that the painter meant to represent the river god Orontes. The same type, in the same position at the lower right corner of the picture, occurs in the first miniature of the Paris Psalter, cod. gr. 139 (fig. 136),[69] as the mountain god Bethlehem. Here the attribute of the tree seems proper, although the position of the figure on the ground instead of on top of a mountain indicates that a river god has been transformed into a mountain god, a water urn having replaced the tree in the process. The form of the tree is identical in both miniatures: the main stem curves over the head and a smaller one branches off over the shoulder. This similarity in detail suggests that the Pseudo-Oppian painter actually copied this personification from the title miniature of one of the so-called aristocratic Psalters, of which the Paris Psalter is the main representative. The Oros Bethlehem looks upward to David, but separated from the original context, this attitude becomes quite meaningless in the Apamea picture. It may be recalled that we found already in the candle boy of the bridal scene (fig. 114) a type which is derived from the personification of Orthros in another picture of the same Psalter recension on which also the miniature in a Prophetbook (fig. 116) depends. Thus it becomes clear that the Apamea miniature as a whole is not a part of the original illustration, but is a typical *pasticcio* which was made up in the Byzantine period of elements from different models.

The depiction of the native town of an author in a manuscript is not with-

[67] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV.

[68] (1) Paris gr. 20 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVIII, no. 26); (2) Mt. Athos, Pantokratoros 61 (H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, Leipzig 1891, pl. 20); (3) London, Brit. Mus. Add. 19352 (Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, p. 21 and fig. 16).

[69] Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. I.—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. I.—Weitzmann, *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1929, p. 179 and pl. I, nos. 1 and 4.

out parallel. There is a thirteenth century medical compendium in Latin in the National Library of Vienna, cod. 93,[70] in which each author portrait is followed by a picture of his home town. The uniformity of these city-pictures, which together with the author portraits precede treatises of different origin, suggests that their earliest possible date is the period in which the various treatises were combined for the first time into the present compendium, and this occurred probably in the sixth century A.D. In other words: like the city of Apamea in the Pseudo-Oppian, they, too, belong to a later period than the scientific illustrations of plants.

12. *Heracles and the Kine of Geryon*

After having characterized the Syrian bulls, Pseudo-Oppian continues (II, 109-112): "These are they which report said Heracles, the mighty son of Zeus, when fulfilling his labors, drove of old from Erytheia, what time he fought with Geryoneus beside the Ocean and slew him amid the crags." This is followed by the description of the Orontes valley in Syria which we discussed above in connection with the Apamea picture. The miniature of the Heracles adventure (fig. 138),[71] therefore, is out of place and should have preceded the Apamea picture. Heracles (inscribed ὁ ἡρακλῆς is clad in a chlamys and not, as one would expect, in a lion skin—apparently owing to a misunderstanding of the copyist. In his left hand Heracles holds the club with which he drives away five cows of Geryon's kine. This scene, which in its setting resembles closely that of the preceding miniature, is placed in front of two mountains, with the river Orontes in-between. Once more the river is represented by a floating band of water, issuing from a cornucopia held by the personification of a river; and the wind god, emerging from behind one of the mountains, is also repeated.

The most frequently illustrated phase of the Geryon adventure in classical art is the slaying of the triple-formed giant; representations of the driving away of Geryon's kine are much rarer. It is true that this scene occurs already on black-figured vases,[72] but from the period thereafter no example seems to have survived until the first centuries of our era when it appears again on coins of Perinthus and Alexandria from the time of Antoninus Pius.[73] There are two versions on the coins: one represents Heracles swinging the club at two cows with his right hand, while his left is wrapped in the

[70] H. J. Hermann, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes* (Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek Wien, vol. I), Leipzig 1923, pp. 8ff. The cities are on fols. 4ʳ, 10ʳ, 26ʳ, 27ʳ, 119ᵛ, 120ʳ and figs. 7, 10.

[71] Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, no. 5.

[72] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, vol. II, Berlin 1843, pls. CV-CVI.

[73] R. Bräuer, "Die Heraklestaten auf antiken Münzen," *Zeits. f. Num.*, XXVIII, 1910, pp. 77ff.

lion skin (fig. 139).[74] The coin designer, for lack of space, had, of course, to overlap the hero and the cows, but in the model they were most probably side by side. This condensation may also have affected the attitude of Heracles who originally was surely driving away the cows and not slaying them, since this would contradict the text, as we can see from Apollodorus' account (II, v, 10): "As a tenth labor he was ordered to fetch the kine of Geryon from Erythia. . . . But Menoetes, who was there pasturing the kine of Hades, reported to Geryon what had occurred, and he, coming up with Hercules beside the river Anthemus, as he was driving away the kine, joined battle with him and was shot dead."[75] The "driving away" is more clearly visualized in the miniature than on the coin, and therefore the former seems to have preserved better the original compositional scheme than the condensed representation of the coin.

The second type found on coins (fig. 140),[76] repeated also in other media,[77] represents Heracles seizing one of the cows by its horns with his right hand while he holds both the lion skin and the club in his left. This is a pictorialization of another phase of the same episode, described by Apollodorus in the same paragraph: "Hera afflicted the cows with a gadfly, and they dispersed among the skirts of the mountains of Thrace. Hercules went in pursuit, and having caught some, drove them to the Hellespont. . . ." Clearly the miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian, as far as the sequence of events is concerned, is more closely related to the first of the two coin types.

There are several more figures in the miniature, apparently putti, who have no direct connection with the Geryon episode. One, at the extreme left, is running away; a second, in the center, is crawling into a two-handled vessel held by another putto, and finally, at the right, two are playing with a quiver. These motifs are obviously taken from another classical model, known to us from several copies. The best and at the same time the one most closely related to our miniature is a Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Sirico (fig. 141) which depicts Heracles in a reclining position amidst putti playing with his arms while Omphale watches the inebriated hero dressed in female clothes.[78] Above the head of Heracles one putto holds a string in his outstretched arms, apparently to bind the wreath on the hero's head. He corresponds with the

[74] Bräuer, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, no. 5.

[75] Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 211 and 215.

[76] Bräuer, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, no. 4.

[77] Cf. the Roman silver plate in the National Museum of Athens, G. Matthies, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 116 and pls. VIII-IX.

[78] O. Jahn, *Herakles bei der Omphale* (Berichte der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., VII), 1855, p. 230.—*Giornale dei Scavi di Pompei*, 1862, p. 14 and pl. VII.—Raoul-Rochette, *Choix de peintures de Pompéi*, Paris 1867, p. 239 and pl. XIX.—W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, nos. 1137-1139.—F. Niccolini, *Case e monumenti di Pompei*, III, Naples 1890, pl. XVII.—G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura ellenistico-romana*, Milan 1929, pl. CXVIII.

one in the miniature who runs away from Heracles, except that he has no string, which of course became superfluous after the transposition of the putto into another context. But also the most upright of the three putti who play with the club, resembles the one who in the miniature is running away, so that the omitted attribute of the latter must not necessarily have been the string, as suggested above, but could have been the club as well. The one trying to drink out of the big scyphus upon which Heracles reclines has his counterpart in the miniature in the putto crawling into the somewhat misunderstood vessel; and finally, several putti play on the central altar with Heracles' quiver, a motif repeated in the lower right corner of the miniature.

This Heracles-and-Omphale picture attracted the Byzantine miniaturist in all probability for no other reason than the decorative quality of the putti which were suitable as filling motifs. For the same reason the contemporary ivory carvers show a predilection for putti, and on some of the so-called rosette caskets we find exactly the same types. On the lid of a casket in the Louvre (fig. 142)[79] the same putto crawling into a container is represented at the extreme left, except that as the result of continuous copying the vessel has been transformed into a basket. The putto next to him carries Heracles' club over the shoulder, as one tries to do in the fresco of the Casa di Sirico, though here he is assisted by other putti because the club is so enormous.[80] In this ivory, as in the miniature, the putti are associated with the labors of Heracles, who first fights a centaur, and then runs forward with a club in his hand as if he were driving away the kine of Geryon.

So the miniature is a typical *pasticcio* of the Pseudo-Oppian painter. He must have used two different classical pictures as models, one representing Heracles driving away the kine of Geryon, and the second the Omphale adventure from which he took over the various putti. Since both scenes are part of the Heracles story, he very likely saw them in the same cycle of illustrations. And finally he placed the various elements in front of a typically Byzantine background.

13. *The Power of Eros*

Praising the might of Eros over not only the animals, but also the Olympian gods (II, 414-425), Pseudo-Oppian says: "Thou comest unto the upper air and high Olympus is afraid before thee. All things fear thee, the wide heaven above and all that is beneath the earth and the lamentable tribes of the dead, who, though they have drained with their lips the oblivious water

[79] A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. I, Berlin 1930, pl. XI, no. 26.

[80] This explanation seems to us now preferable to that of Iolaus. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

of Lethe, still tremble before thee. By thy might thou dost pass afar, beyond what the shining sun doth ever behold: to thy fire even the light yields place for fear and the thunderbolts of Zeus likewise give place. Such fiery arrows, fierce spirit, hast thou—sharp, consuming, mind-destroying, maddening, whose melting breath knows no healing—wherewith thou dost stir even the very wild beasts to unmeet desires." The illustrator shows Eros' power in both realms. In a first miniature[81] he aims his arrow at several pairs of animals, and in a second at the Olympian gods (fig. 143).[82] Whereas the animal picture is akin to the miniatures of the scientific group, of which it forms a part, the second picture, as we shall see, is again a *pasticcio* of a later period.

We see the god of Love (inscribed ὁ ἔρως) flying through the air as he approaches a group of gods with his vulnerable weapon. These gods, most of whom are identifiable, are apparently copied from ancient types, though they are not grouped according to the usual classical assembly of gods. The illustrator seems, rather, to have taken the types from different scenes, depending on the available material. Next to Eros stands Athena, clad in a long chiton, plate-armor, and mantle, and leaning on lance and shield. This type may be compared with the Athena in one of the miniatures of the Milan Iliad (fig. 144),[83] where she stands in a similar posture and wears the same high-crested helmet and carries the lance and shield in her left hand, but here she raises her right hand in a gesture of speech. Then follows a god, clad only in a mantle, who seems to try to escape toward the right. The little wings at his feet characterize him as Hermes,[84] and the two little horns at his head are likewise to be interpreted as misunderstood wings. He raises his right arm in a gesture whose meaning is not quite clear since the hand does not hold anything. This type of Hermes can be found on Roman sarcophagi, where he walks ahead of the chariot on which Persephone is carried off by Pluto (fig. 145),[85] and sometimes he holds the reins of the horses. It may be recalled that Pseudo-Nonnus copied the whole scene of the rape of Persephone in an iconography similar to that of the sarcophagi (figs. 48-49). So we know that this very scene was familiar to Byzantine illustrators.

The next in the assembly is Pan, who is characterized by his goat feet and horns, but the wings on his back are meaningless and must be ascribed to a misunderstanding by the copyist. He turns toward a woman who looks

[81] The corresponding miniature of Paris cod. gr. 2736 is published by E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, fig. 70.

[82] Schlumberger, *L'Épopée*, II, fig. on p. 148.—Millet in Michel's *Histoire de l'art*, I, I, Paris 1905, fig. 116.—P. Toesca, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 43 and fig. 8.—Diehl, *Manuel*, II, fig. 284. For the corresponding miniature of Paris cod. gr. 2736, cf. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, fig. 93.

[83] Ceriani-Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis pictae*, Milan 1905, pict. XIX.

[84] Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 97, note 9, proposes, with a question mark, that this figure is Venus.

[85] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, pl. CXXIV, no. 389b (Tarragona).

at him and crosses her hands, one veiled and holding a staff and the other uncovered. This woman is distinguished by a halo, but since in the Milan Iliad and other illustrated classical texts gods quite often have nimbi, this does not necessarily mean that the figure is a Christian saint,[86] who in any case would be out of context in this scene. There is obviously a relation between Pan and the woman. A fresco in the Casa degli Epigrammi in Pompeii represents in one of its panels (fig. 146)[87] the wrestling match between Eros and Pan in the presence of Aphrodite as gymnasiarch. This type of Aphrodite is so close to that of the woman opposite Pan in the Venetian miniature that there can be no doubt about their identity. Also in the fresco Aphrodite holds a staff in her veiled hand while the free one crosses the other. Her diadem reveals that the single horn over the woman's forehead in the miniature is but a single prong of the diadem no longer understood as such. Naturally the miniaturist had no use for the boxing Eros, since the god of Love was already represented in the picture, and thus, in order to relate the two remaining figures of the scene with each other, he turned Pan around, with the strange effect that he seems to be attacking Aphrodite. The group is placed in front of a temple in the form of a simple cella, which takes the place of the monopteros of the fresco. Above the roof of the temple appears the half-length figure of Zeus throwing a thunderbolt; he is the only god cited in the Pseudo-Oppian passage. Although transformed into a Byzantine emperor by the addition of a pearl-studded crown, the type corresponds to that of Zeus who in the sarcophagus relief of Sagreb (fig. 54) stands behind the couch and throws the thunderbolt at Semele.

Beside the assembly of the Olympian gods there is a second scene which demonstrates the power of Eros over mortals. Two men are represented fighting each other over a woman who watches the spectacle from the window of her house. Between the men an inscription reads ἐρ(ῶν)τες, i.e. the lovers.[88] To distinguish this scene from the assembly of the Olympian gods, the mortals are designed in smaller size and draped in very fashionable costumes. The jealous man, attacking with an axe, wears a fur cap and an embroidered jacket, whereas the victim is characterized by a domical hat as a court official. Fashionable also are the headgear and the long-sleeved garment of the noble lady, who with her right hand seems to offer some object to the murderer. Is

[86] Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, proposes an identification as St. Theodora of Alexandria.

[87] C. Dilthey, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1876, p. 294.—*Mon. dell' Inst.*, x, 1876, pl. xxxv, no. 1.—O. Bie, "Der Ringkampf des Pan und Eros," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, iv, 1889, pp. 129ff.—K. Wernicke, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Pan, col. 1457 and fig. 22.

[88] Panofsky, *loc. cit.*, reads the inscription as "Hermes" and makes two proposals for a mythological interpretation, one as Hermes, Argos, and Io, and the other, which he prefers, as Hermes, Aglauros, and Herse. But against these interpretations are the facts that (1) the inscription does not read "Hermes," and (2) this god is already represented next to Athena.

it a purse with which she rewards or bribes the killer? Whether the Pseudo-Oppian painter invented this jealousy scene or whether he took it over from an illustrated romance or another literary text we do not know. The latter seems to be more likely since there is nothing in the Pseudo-Oppian text to account for a scene of such specific episodic character.

The meaning of the whole miniature is quite clear: the painter wanted to represent the two effects of love, one in the Olympian and the other in the worldly sphere. In the first case he used ancient types of gods where he could find them in a mythological handbook or elsewhere, and in the second he depicted a profane scene in contemporary costumes.

14. *Phineus and the Harpies*

The tale of the blind moles who sprang from the blood of King Phineus is used by Pseudo-Oppian as an excuse for a short digression into the Phineus myth (II, 617-628): "Against Phineus once on a time was the Titan Phaeton angered, wroth for the victory of prophet Phoebus, and robbed him of his sight and sent the shameless tribes of the Harpies, a winged race to dwell with him to his sorrow. But when the two glorious sons of Boreas, even Zetes and Calais, voyaged on the ship Argo in quest of the golden prize, assisting Jason, then did they take compassion on the old man and slew that tribe and gave his poor lips sweet food. But not even so did Phaeton lull his wrath to rest, but speedily turned him into the race of Moles which were before not; wherefore even now the race remains blind and gluttonous of food."

This passage is illustrated by two miniatures, the first of which (fig. 147) shows the blind Phineus enthroned among the Argonauts on a long table which at the same time is used as a bench by the two guests at the extreme corners. The five Argonauts, clad all alike in plate armor and chlamys, are obviously very excited and accompany their discussion with wild gestures. In all probability they include, besides the two sons of Boreas, the Dioscuri and Jason, the leader of the expedition, although they cannot individually be distinguished. While a servant brings a bowl, a chalice standing on the table is at that very moment snatched away by the winged Harpies, of whom two fly down from the left and a third approaches from the right. The second miniature (fig. 148) illustrates the pursuit of the Harpies (inscribed ἅρπυαι) by Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas (inscribed ἀργοναῦται). They fly with outspread wings which were not visible in the preceding miniature, and they attack the escaping Harpies with sword and spear. Down below one recognizes at the left a blind mole and at the right the sailboat of the Argonauts (inscribed ἡ ἀργώ), floating on a square-shaped body of water which is so sharply separated from the rest of the landscape that it looks like an intrusion.

It should be noted that there is no hint in the Pseudo-Oppian text as to how the Harpies molested Phineus; their behavior in the miniature agrees with the story as it is told in older classical texts. The second miniature, too, is at variance with the Pseudo-Oppian text; according to it the Harpies are killed by the sons of Boreas while in the picture they are only pursued and seem to escape. Obviously the miniatures go ultimately back to another and fuller text like that of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (II, 178ff.), or the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus, where the story, as the author explicitly states, is based on the *Argonautica*. Apollodorus' account reads (I, IX, 21): "Thence they put to sea and came to land at Salmydessus in Thrace, where dwelt Phineus, a seer who had lost the sight of both eyes. . . . The gods also sent the Harpies to him. These were winged female creatures and when a table was laid for Phineus, they flew down from the sky and snatched up most of the victuals, and what little they left stank so that nobody could touch it. When the Argonauts would have consulted him about the voyage, he said that he would advise them about it if they would rid him of the Harpies. So the Argonauts laid a table of viands beside him, and the Harpies with a shriek suddenly pounced down and snatched away the food. When Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas, saw that, they drew their swords and, being winged, pursued them through the air. Now it was fated that the Harpies should perish by the sons of Boreas and that the sons of Boreas should die when they could not catch up a fugitive. So the Harpies were pursued and one of them fell into the river Tigres in Peloponnese. . . . But the other . . . fled by the Propontis till she came to the Echinadian Islands, which are now called Strophades after her; for when she came to them she turned (*estraphe*) and being at the shore fell for very weariness with her pursuer. But Apollonius in the *Argonautica* says that the Harpies were pursued to the Strophades Islands and suffered no harm, having sworn an oath that they would wrong Phineus no more."[89] The phrase "snatching away the victuals" from the table by the "Harpies pouncing down" and other details of this account correspond so thoroughly with the precise moment depicted in the Venetian miniature that once more an illustrated Apollodorus seems to have been the most likely source for the Pseudo-Oppian painter.

On the ground, below the table, is the inscription τὸ στενὸν, i.e. the straits, meaning of course the Hellespont. Apollodorus, as may be recalled, narrates that one of the Harpies fled "by the Propontis," which implies that she had to pass the straits. The inscription νεάπολις above Phineus refers most likely to a city in Thrace of that name, since Thrace—in Pseudo-Oppian as well as in Apollodorus—is mentioned as the home of Phineus. At the extreme

[89] Frazer, I, pp. 103ff.

right the word φάρος is placed above a tower, referring apparently to the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, though the literary sources which we possess today do not seem to feature this building in the story of Phineus and the Harpies.

The second miniature is likewise much better explained by the text of Apollodorus, which describes the pursuing of the Harpies in two slightly different versions, than by Pseudo-Oppian who states that they were slain. So in all probability both miniatures were copied from an illustrated Apollodorus manuscript which, in turn, may go back to an illustrated Apollonius Rhodius. The only element of the original Pseudo-Oppian illustration is the blind mole, part of the scientific set of animal pictures.

The pictorial tradition of the Phineus story in classical art is very scanty and unfortunately monuments are lacking entirely from the Hellenistic-Roman period, in which we have to place the prototypes of our miniatures in so far as they are of classical descent. The few preserved pictures of the Phineus story take us back into the period of black- and red-figured vases. Phineus seated in a frontal position, as in the miniature, is found on a red-figured vase from Camiros,[90] but the table is pushed aside so as not to conceal the figure. The escaping Harpies of the second miniature show some similarity with those on an amphora from Ruvo (fig. 149)[91] particularly the one on the left with her hands before her breast and her head turned. In the same vase painting the prow of the Argo is represented in the same place as in the miniature, i.e. in the right corner.[92] Yet these similarities are superficial and might be accidental. Methodologically, one should be extremely cautious in drawing any conclusions from similarities between Byzantine miniatures and classical monuments earlier than the Hellenistic period.

15. *Rhea*

The beginning of the third book of Pseudo-Oppian deals with lions. But before the author describes each species, he makes one of the usual mythological excursions (III, 8-19) : "The Curetes were the nurses of the infant Zeus, the mighty son of Cronus, what time Rhea concealed his birth and carried away the newly-born child from Cronus, his sire implacable, and placed him in the vales of Crete. And when the son of Uranus beheld the lusty young child he transformed the first glorious guardians of Zeus and in vengeance made the Curetes wild beasts. And since by the devising of the god Cronus

[90] A. Flasch, *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVIII, 1880, p. 138 and pl. 12, no. 2.—C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, vol. III, London 1896, p. 219, no. E302.

[91] *Mon. inediti*, III, 1843, pl. XLIX.—A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Boreaden, fig. in col. 800.—A. Furtwängler-K. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ser. I, Munich 1904, p. 302 and pl. 60.

[92] For this detail cf. the plate in the *Mon. inediti.*

they exchanged their human shape and put upon them the form of Lions, henceforth by the boon of Zeus they greatly lord it over the wild beasts which dwell upon the hills, and under the yoke they draw the terrible swift car of Rhea who lightens the pangs of birth."

This passage is illustrated by two miniatures, the first of which (fig. 150) depicts Rhea with the infant Zeus, guarded by the Curetes. The locality is an island surrounded by water on all sides, which is meant, of course, to be Crete. The Curetes are represented as lions: the first from the left is completely transformed, the second still has a human head, and the third is too much destroyed in the upper part to make sure its original shape. By this differentiation the artist succeeded in pictorializing the gradual transition from human to animal form. The two at the left play a drum and a transverse flute, while once more the third is too rubbed to make his action sure, but probably he held cymbals over his head. Because of these instruments the transformed lions must be associated with the noise-making Corybantes rather than with the Curetes, who should be represented clashing their shields and swords. It may be remembered that the Pseudo-Nonnus text, too, has an illustration of the birth of Zeus (figs. 36-37, 39), where the Corybantes were not only represented alone but held exactly the same instruments: the drum, the transverse flute, and the cymbals. Thus it becomes more than likely that the illustrators of both texts used the same model, which, as we tried to prove in the case of the Pseudo-Nonnus miniature, was Apollodorus (cf. p. 78). The main alteration by the Pseudo-Oppian painter was the transformation of the Corybantes into lions in conformity with the new text, so that the miniature in its present state needs two texts for its full explanation.

In the center Rhea is represented kneeling and stretching out her hands toward the babe which is partly hidden by a piece of ground, probably meant to indicate the cave of Dicte mentioned in Apollodorus. This type of kneeling Rhea occurs similarly on a coin of Caracalla from Laodicaea (fig. 151).[93] where she seems to take the babe out of a spring in order to give it to the nymph Adrastia behind her, while a mountain god looks leisurely on. Another coin from Laodicaea (fig. 152)[94] represents the moment in which a woman, probably the nymph Adrastia, carries away the infant Zeus while the Curetes clash their shields—the very types of guardians we would have expected in the miniature instead of the music-making Corybantes. These two coins from Laodicaea seem to represent two successive scenes from the same narrative cycle and because of the similarity of the kneeling Rhea-type in coin and miniature, both in all probability hark back to the same model, i.e. an illustrated Apollodorus.

[93] F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Antike Münzbilder," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, III, 1888, p. 289 and pl. 9, no. 18.

[94] Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 290 and pl. 9, no. 19.

The second miniature (fig. 153)[95] represents a flat cart, drawn by a lion and a lioness, on which is a half-nude woman, inscribed *ἡ ῥέα*,[96] and in front of it dances a nude figure, inscribed *ἔρως*, with an inflated veil. Although Rhea is draped similarly as in the preceding miniature, she is not, in our opinion, derived from an ancient type of Rhea. Classical antiquity distinguishes clearly between the Rhea of the Zeus myth and the Rhea-Cybele as cult image on the lion cart. In the first case, as in the coins and other monuments, she is usually rendered half nude, but as Cybele she has to be fully draped with a veil over her head, holding the tympanum in her hand and sitting erect on a throne.[97] On the other hand, the woman on the cart in the miniature has not the appearance of a Byzantine invention and neither does the dancing figure, which is not accounted for by the Pseudo-Oppian text. Apparently, then, another classical composition was used as model and adjusted to the Rhea story.

With the help of contemporary Byzantine ivory plaques of so-called rosette caskets this model can be determined. A plaque in the Museo Correr in Venice (fig. 155)[98] represents a cart drawn by two panthers instead of lions, but in so similar a manner that a connection between miniature and ivory is undeniable. Only the reclining figure is different: in the ivory it is Dionysus, turned in the opposite direction from the woman in the miniature, and he holds in one hand a ship which obviously is a misunderstood thyrsus. In classical monuments like the marble frieze in Berlin (fig. 154)[99] Dionysus on the panther cart is joined by Ariadne. It must have been a model of this kind which both the ivory carver and the miniaturist used and from which the one copied only Dionysus, lying in one direction, and the other only Ariadne, lying in the opposite. By assuming, thus, the adaptation of an Ariadne type for Rhea, her relaxed attitude and semi-nakedness becomes fully understandable. The miniaturist had to make only one change in order to adjust his model to the Pseudo-Oppian text: he had to transform the panthers into lions.

Now also the original context of the dancer becomes clear. Although inscribed *ἔρως*, this figure is derived from a classical Maenad type which the miniaturist copied most likely from a representation of the same Dionysian thiasus from which he took over the team of panthers. On the Roman relief in Berlin one such Maenad dances with cymbals while another, with an inflated

[95] P. Toesca, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 44 and fig. 9.

[96] Only the article ἡ is contemporary, whereas the name itself is rewritten by a later hand.

[97] Cf. the Roman relief in Villa Albani. A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Kybele, col. 1671 and fig. 6.—Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., vol. II, Leipzig 1913, p. 443, nos. 1901-1902.

[98] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. X, no. 22.

[99] R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, Berlin 1891, p. 337, no. 850.—*Idem*, *Die griechische Skulptur*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1922, fig. on p. 286.

veil, holds the *cista mystica*. Dancing Maenads also occur frequently in the rosette caskets and there, as in the miniature, they are often nude and are gradually transformed into Erotes (fig. 156).[100] Moreover, we have seen dancing Maenads already in the bridal scene. Obviously the Bacchic thiasus was quite a familiar subject to Byzantine miniaturists and ivory carvers alike.

The working method of the illustrator of Pseudo-Oppian is once more clear. In the miniature representing the hiding of the infant Zeus he was able to use an illustrated Apollodorus, but since this mythological handbook apparently did not contain a cult picture of Rhea-Cybele, he had to rely for the second miniature on another model which had scenes from the life of Dionysus, a model which he had slightly to alter for his special needs.

16. *Maenad*

Pseudo-Oppian now takes up the subject of leopards, making another mythological excursus (III, 78-83): "Notwithstanding minstrels celebrate this race of beasts as having been aforetime the nurses of Bacchus, giver of the grape; wherefore even now they greatly exult in wine and receive in their mouths the great gift of Dionysus. What matter it was that changed glorious women from the race of mortals into this wild race of Leopards I shall hereafter sing." These verses are accompanied by a miniature which represents a leopard drinking wine from a vessel (fig. 157). The same story is repeated in the fourth book, verses 338ff., and here we find another miniature (fol. 63^{v}) with a leopard drinking wine, though this time out of a circular well, beside which are two more leopards, intoxicated and jumping at each other. So far both miniatures belong to the scientific set of animal pictures.

But in the first miniature there is, in addition to the drinking leopard a woman holding in her right hand a branch of ivy, and in her left the hoofed leg of an animal. These attributes characterize her as a raving Maenad, the branch being a deformed thyrsus. The painter had perfectly understood Pseudo-Oppian's remark about the glorious women who were changed from mortals into leopards as an allusion to the Pentheus story, which is told more explicitly and illustrated in the fourth book (p. 140 and fig. 166). Raving Maenads holding a thyrsus and parts of a torn animal, usually of a goat, occur frequently in classical art, especially the Neo-Attic reliefs.[101] But in the present miniature the Byzantine illustrator has gone even further in transforming his classical model than in the case of the previous Maenads (figs. 114 and 153).

[100] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, no. 26a.

[101] A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Mainaden, col. 2280 and fig. 16.—F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, Stuttgart 1889, pl. II, no. 30 and 32.

17. *The Sack of a City*

Next Pseudo-Oppian turns to the subject of lynxes and praises their love for their children. The lynxes lament loudly when their cubs are taken away from them, "even as, when their fatherland is sacked with the spear and burnt with raging fire, women fall upon their children's necks and loudly weep" (III, 104-106). This simile is illustrated by a burning city with people fleeing from it (fig. 158). Three men carry their beds, the first piece of furniture a Greek would try to save, and two women carry their children on their shoulders. The text does not mention any men, and it speaks, not of carrying children away, but of weeping on their necks. The painter apparently used a compositional scheme which was originally invented for a different context, and he adapted it, unaltered, for the Pseudo-Oppian text.

The general character of the scene suggests not a classical model, but rather a Christian one. The burning city resembles representations of the sack of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the women with children on their shoulders were most likely inspired by a scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea, for both of which an Octateuch may have furnished the model.[102] Moreover, the motif of men carrying beds may go back to a representation of the Healing of the Paralytic in a New Testament manuscript. But these connections with specific Biblical scenes remain hypothetical, and it is not even necessary to assume that the painter of the Pseudo-Oppian was the first to put the types together as they appear now in the Venetian miniature. There may have existed a scene either in another Biblical book or perhaps in a chronicle in which the various elements were already combined.

18. *Jealousy*

In connection with the subject of jealousy among wild asses Pseudo-Oppian finds an excuse for discussing jealousy among famous heroes and heroines (III, 237-250): "O father Zeus, how fierce a heart hath Jealousy! Him hast thou made, O lord, mightier than nature to behold and hast given him the bitter force of fire, and in his right hand hast vouchsafed to him to wear a sword of adamant. He preserves not, when he comes, dear children of their loving parents, he knows nor comrade nor kin nor cousin, when he intervenes grievous and unspeakable. He also in former times arrayed against their own children heroes themselves and noble heroines—Theseus, son of Aegeus, and Athamas, son of Aeolus, and Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela and Colchian Medea and glorious Themisto. But notwithstanding, after the race of afflicted mortals, to wild beasts also he served up a banquet of Thyestes."

[102] Cf. the manuscript of Smyrna, Hesseling, *op. cit.*, pl. 23, no. 67; pl. 58, nos. 176, 178, 179; pl. 59, no. 181.

The miniature of this passage has two superimposed friezes (fig. 159),[103] the first figure in the upper one being a personification of Jealousy, inscribed ὁ ζῆλο(ς). He is represented as a youth in frontal position, clad in a short tunic and holding in one hand a spear and in the other the "sword of adamant," as described by the text. The manner in which the attributes are displayed does not suggest a classical prototype, and even if there was one, the Byzantine copyist apparently altered it beyond recognition.

With the exception of this personification the miniature is made up of narrative scenes illustrating various infanticides. However, the Pseudo-Oppian text mentions only the names of heroes and heroines who had committed such crimes without specifying them in each case. So once more the illustrations could not have been made up from the Pseudo-Oppian text, but must once have adorned a different text. In a special study of this miniature[104] we set forth the thesis that each one of the scenes illustrates a Euripidean tragedy in which the theme of jealousy, as in so many plays of this dramatist, is the keynote. Referring the reader to that study for the more detailed discussion, we shall confine ourselves here to a condensed account.

Next to the figure of Jealousy a youth in a short tunic leans over a hillock and seems to empty a sword and a shield out of a bag. Since the first hero mentioned in the text of Pseudo-Oppian is Theseus, son of Aegeus, one would expect to see him depicted in this scene. A comparison with a Roman marble relief in the Villa Albani (fig. 160)[105] furnishes the proof that the figure in the miniature is indeed none other than Theseus, represented at the moment in which he finds the tokens of his father under the rock at Troezen, though some details are no longer understood by the Byzantine copyist. According to the classical texts Theseus lifted the rock with some effort, but in the miniature he simply takes the tokens out of a sack-like object resting upon an immovable hillock. The sword's hilt stands out prominently in the silhouette, and underneath one recognizes what looks like a shield, but there is no trace of the sandals which are particularly mentioned in the classical sources while the shield is not. Yet, not every deviation from the literary tradition must necessarily be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, because the shield occurs already in a terracotta plaque that belongs to the so-called Campana reliefs (fig. 161).[106] Obviously the miniaturist no longer realized that the figure was meant to represent Theseus, for the inscription ὁ θησεύς is over the next figure, which, as we shall see, represents another hero.

[103] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 88 and fig. 72.

[104] Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia*, XVIII, pp. 159ff.

[105] G. Zoëga, *Li Bassirelievi antichi de Roma*, I, Rome 1808, pl. 48.—Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 1126.—Helbig, *Führer*³, 1913, II, p. 455, no. 1924 (706).

[106] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, London 1903, p. 398, no. D 594 and pl. XXXIX.—H. v. Rohden-H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit*, vol. IV, Berlin-Stuttgart 1911, pp. 98, 246 and pl. XII.

A problem is the relation of this Theseus scene to the dominant theme of jealousy. We must look for a text where the finding of the tokens and the theme of jealousy are more closely related to each other than in a narrative account of Theseus' life in a mythological handbook, where jealousy does not enter into the tale of his early exploit at Troezen. In our opinion the basic text was the *Aegeus* of Euripides, a drama now lost, but whose plot we can still reconstruct at least in a dim outline.[107] The leitmotif was obviously the jealousy of Medea, the Colchian sorceress, who had married the aged Aegeus and borne him a son, Medus. Medea becomes apprehensive when she hears about the expected return of Theseus, Aegeus' older son, and she plots to have him poisoned. But this crime is prevented at the very last minute when Aegeus recognizes the returning Theseus by the tokens which he once had hidden under the rock at Troezen. It is very likely that Medea herself narrated in the prologue the events of Theseus' past, and in such a prologue the finding of the tokens probably played a major role. Thus the inference would be that the Theseus scene in the Pseudo-Oppian copied a miniature from the prologue of Euripides' *Aegeus*.

The next infanticide mentioned in Pseudo-Oppian's list is that of Athamas, son of Aeolus, and indeed the following scene represents a figure inscribed *ὁ ἀθάμας*. Ancient sources[108] tell us that Athamas slew his son Learchus, and this episode is obviously the one represented in the miniature, where a warrior strikes with a sword a second who is bleeding and falling forward upon his discarded weapons. As in the preceding scene, the copyist was no longer aware of the meaning of the scene and so shifted the inscription of Athamas from the left-hand to the right-hand figure, having made a similar mistake in the case of the Theseus figure.

The long series of crimes in the house of Athamas comes to an end when the King in a fit of madness slays his son Learchus and is about to kill also the second son, Melicertes. But his wife Ino snatches the boy away and jumps from a promontory into the sea. This story was a subject for ancient artists, as we know from Pliny, who mentions an iron statue of Athamas, subsiding in repentance after the killing of Learchus, by the Rhodian sculptor Aristonidas (*N.H.* XXXIV, 140), and from the description of a picture by Callistratus (14) in which Athamas was represented in his madness while the trembling Ino with the little Melicertes on her bosom stood ready to jump from the promontory. Yet no pictorial representation of Athamas' actual

[107] F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, II, Bonn 1839, p. 729ff.—Aug. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragmenta*², Leipzig 1926, p. 363, nos. 1-13.—A. Michaelis, *Arch. Ztg.*, XLIII, 1885, p. 291.—U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides Hippolytos*, Berlin 1891, pp. 43, 45, 243.—W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, Philadelphia 1930, p. 204.—W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, 1, 3, Munich 1940, pp. 375ff.

[108] K. Seeliger, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Athamas, col. 670.—Escher, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Athamas, col. 1932 and Eitrem *s.v.* Leukothea, cols. 2297ff.

infanticide has so far been found among the extant classical monuments.

The most detailed description and the one in agreement with the miniature is found in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (x, 48ff.), where Athamas' first shot Learchus with an arrow and then "cut off the head with his knife and knew it not, turned stag by his fancy; laughing he felt the hair at the top of the blood stained cheek of the face unmarked, and pawed over his game. . . ." If, nevertheless, we assume the source of the Byzantine illustrator to have been not an illustrated *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus but the Euripidean *Ino*,[109] which, as we know from Hyginus' fourth fable entitled "Ino Euripidis," also contained the slaying of Learchus, it is for the reason that the scene is next to another one from the Athamas myth, where the source is most certainly the Euripidean play.

In the last scene of the upper frieze we see two children lying in a bed, one wrapped in swaddling clothes and the other naked, and a woman holding the latter and strangling it. The inscription ἡ φιλομήλη is written above the head of the woman, for the third time a mistake by the copyist, which is easily explained by the fact that the next heroines mentioned in the Pseudo-Oppian text are indeed Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela. The miniature fits not at all the story of these two sisters but that of another jealous heroine whom Pseudo-Oppian mentions later in his list, namely "glorious Themisto."

The murder of her two children was the main theme of Euripides' *Ino*, the plot of which is as follows: after his marriage with Ino who bore him two sons, Learchus and Melicertes, Athamas marries Themisto who likewise gives birth to two sons. Later Ino is called back to the court and made a servant of Themisto who wants to get rid of her rival's children. She gives the order to her servant, whom she does not recognize, to dress her own children in white and Ino's in black, so that in the semidarkness of the bedroom she may recognize the latter and kill them. Ino takes her revenge by interchanging the garments, and so Themisto unwittingly kills her own offspring. This is the scene illustrated in the miniature, every detail of which fits the story. Themisto's two children are lying in a bed and the jealous mother, leaning over them, is on the point of strangling one of them.

The Byzantine illustrator in all probability copied this scene from the same model as the preceding one, i.e. an illustrated *Ino* of Euripides. The two scenes do not follow the order of the drama, but their shift is obviously to be explained by the Pseudo-Oppian text which mentions Athamas first and Themisto later. It now becomes understandable, too, why the illustrator passed over the story of Procne and Philomela: this myth was not treated by Euripides, and therefore an illustration of it was not available in the model

109 Welcker, *op. cit.*, II, p. 615ff.—Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 482ff., nos. 398-423.—Eitrem, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Leukothea, col. 2297.—Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 254.—Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

from which the painter took over not only the scenes mentioned so far but, as we shall see, also the remaining ones.

A pictorial representation of the infanticide of Themisto, like that of Athamas, is not preserved in classical art, as far as we know. Thus the two scenes in Pseudo-Oppian are the first ever to be connected not only with the Euripidean *Ino*, but with this myth in general.

Another of the jealous heroines mentioned in the *Cynegetica* is "Colchian Medea," the ill-famed sorceress with whose name classical antiquity has associated the most notorious case of infanticide. She must have had a reputation as a murderess even in the Byzantine period, because the illustrator was in her case not satisfied with the representation of a single episode but chose two, each from a different drama, and in addition depicted the first episode in two phases, so that the whole lower strip is filled with Medea stories. There is no difficulty in identifying the episodes, the first of which illustrates the unsuccessful attempt of the daughters of Pelias to rejuvenate their father as told in the *Peliades*, another of the lost dramas of Euripides.[110] In this play Medea sets out to kill the aged King Pelias. She persuades his daughters to rejuvenate their father and demonstrates the method by which it could be accomplished, with an old ram. She cuts the animal to pieces, boils it in a cauldron and reconstitutes it in a rejuvenated form. The daughters thereupon cut up their own father, boil him likewise in a cauldron, but the rejuvenation does not take place and the experiment ends in a catastrophe.

In the miniature we see the sorceress, inscribed ἡ μήδεια, dressed in a sleeveless garment and stirring a boiling cauldron in which pieces of flesh and a pair of horns, resembling those of a goat rather than a ram, are visible. In the next scene two of Pelias' daughters, clad in the same type of sleeveless garment as Medea but of different colors, stir a similar cauldron and boil their father whom they have cut to mincemeat and whose head, looking up, is visible between the two ladles.

One may ask why this episode was chosen at all by the illustrator, since it represents a parricide and not an infanticide. The simplest explanation lies once more in the availability of an illustrated Euripides which the illustrator perused for scenes dealing with jealousy; and in doing so, he went beyond what was suggested by the text of the *Cynegetica*. This is not the only case where the illustrator added scenes on his own initiative, as may be remembered from his pictures of the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes (cf. pp. 102ff. and figs. 108-109).

Pelias' death was a popular theme in ancient art and had been depicted on

[110] Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 625ff.—Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550, nos. 601-616.—L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926, pp. 467ff.—Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 273ff. —Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

black- and red-figured vases[111] long before Euripides' tragedy was written. In the Hellenistic-Roman period we find the myth represented in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 162),[112] in which Medea, entering the palace, is greeted by one of Pelias' daughters—while two others wait in the rear of the palace chamber—and then performs, in a second scene, the rejuvenation of the ram. In agreement with our miniature, Medea stands at the left in front of the cauldron while she performs her sorcery. In all likelihood the miniature is only an excerpt from a fuller cycle of illustrations of the *Peliades*, which, besides the scene depicted in the Pompeian fresco, probably included the leading of the decrepit Pelias to the spot where his rejuvenation will be attempted, as reflected in a Bactrian silver vessel,[113] and perhaps the council of the daughters, which we know from a vase painting.[114] But so far nowhere in ancient art has a representation of the boiling of Pelias been found, and here the miniature is a valuable addition to our knowledge of scenes from the *Peliades*. Of course, details may have been changed considerably in the Byzantine copy, and whether so realistic a motif as the stirring ever existed in a classical representation may well be doubted. But at the same time, it must be kept in mind that the Byzantine painter could not have made up this or, for that matter, any other jealousy scene from the Pseudo-Oppian text and that he must have used a model which told the stories in some detail.

The only scene in the Pseudo-Oppian which goes back to one of the extant tragedies of Euripides is from the *Medea*. The illustration depicts the climax of the drama where Medea takes her revenge for Jason's desertion by killing her own two children, a deed which did not take place on the stage but was told by the chorus of the Corinthian women (verses 1251-1292). Medea is representation may well be doubted. But at the same time, it must be kept headgear, both typically Middle Byzantine. The miniature illustrates the infanticide as an accomplished fact: one child in swaddling clothes lies dead on the ground and the second, with the dangling limbs of a corpse, has just been thrown aside by the cold-blooded murderess who stands in perfect calm, facing the spectator. One would expect her to hold a weapon, but her right hand is lowered and empty, a flaw which must be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, since a sword or knife in her hand is implied not only by the drama,

[111] Cf. the list of the monuments by K. Seeliger, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Medeia, col. 2505.—Lesky, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Medeia, col. 59 and K. Scherling, *s.v.* Peliades, col. 311.—Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 477ff. and figs. 136-138.

[112] Robert, "Medeia und die Peliaden," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXII, 1874, p. 134 and pl. 13.—Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pl. V, no. 2.—L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig 1929, p. 293 and fig. 170.—Ch. M. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (Yale Classical Studies IX), New Haven 1944, p. 102, no. 44, p. 161 and pl. XVIII, no. 44.

[113] Weitzmann, "Three 'Bactrian' Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides," *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, p. 311 and fig. 16.

[114] Séchan, *op. cit.*, fig. 138.

but even more emphatically by the Pseudo-Oppian text, which puts such stress on the "sword of adamant" in the hand of Jealousy.

Instead of merely inscribing the name of Medea, the scribe or the miniaturist wrote the following iambic trimeter, which is of uncertain date,[115] on the background:

πῶς οὐκ ἐφείσω τῶν βρεφῶν τρισαθλία;
ἡ φαρμακὶς μήδεια τυγχάνεις ἄρα.
ἢ τίς βριμὼ σὺ καὶ νέα τζικλωνίτις.

How came it that you did not spare your children, thrice-wretched woman?
For you are the sorceress, Medea,
Some new and terrible mistress of the cauldron.

The infanticide of Medea is depicted quite frequently in ancient art but not before the first performance of the Euripidean tragedy in 431 B.C., and this play must very soon have become so famous that apparently no artist illustrating the myth could escape its influence. Although the vase painters of the end of the fifth and the fourth centuries often made additions not called for by the text, yet the nucleus of the scene seems always to reveal a connection with the Euripidean drama, although this has been contested by some archaeologists.[116] An engraved gem of the Roman period in the British Museum (fig. 163)[117] shows Medea standing in frontal position displaying a sword which she is just about to thrust into the neck of one of her children who has sunk to his knees, while the other child is lying dead on the ground, as in the miniature. In its general concept as well as in the detail of the slain child on the ground, this scene is comparatively the closest to our miniature, though it adds some supplementary figures in the tradition of the Greek vases: a female attendant who tries in vain to restrain Medea from the murder, and the pedagogue who turns around hiding his face in grief. Comparing our miniature with the classical representations in general, we may observe that the complete absence of any supplementary features makes it, from the iconographic point of view, the most literal rendering of the Euripidean play, in spite of the transformation of style and such misunderstandings as the omission of the sword.

[115] O. Tüselmann, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Oppians Kynegetika*, Nordhausen 1890, p. 7.—A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, II, Leipzig 1885, pp. 597ff.

[116] J. Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden*, Leipzig 1886, p. 79 and 146ff.—K. Seeliger, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Medeia, col. 2506.—J. H. Huddliston, *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings*, London 1898, pp. 144ff.—Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 396ff.—Lesky, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s.v.* Medeia, col. 61.—D. L. Page, *Euripides' Medea*, Oxford 1938, pp. lviiff.

[117] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the British Museum*, London 1926, p. 303, no. 3185 and pl. XXXII.

Summing up our study of the jealousy miniature, we come to the conclusion that every one of its scenes can be related to a certain Euripidean tragedy, namely the *Aegeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades*, and the *Medea*, and that, therefore, the most likely model of the Byzantine miniaturist was an illustrated Euripides.

19. *The Childhood of Dionysus*

In the fourth book Pseudo-Oppian keeps his promise to say more about the Maenads who were transformed into leopards (cf. p. 130 and fig. 157). In doing so he speaks at length of the childhood of Dionysus—of how Ino, Autonoe, and Agave had nursed him, and continues (IV, 242-265): "For greatly fearing the mighty spouse of Zeus and dreading the tyrant Pentheus, son of Echion, they laid the holy child in a coffer of pine and covered it with fawn-skins and wreathed it with clusters of the vine, in a grotto.... Then the holy choir took up the secret coffer and wreathed it and set it on the back of an ass. And they came unto the shores of the Euripus, where they found a seafaring old man with his sons, and all together they besought the fishermen that they might cross the water in their boats. Then the old man had compassion on them and received on board the holy women. And lo! on the benches of his boat flowered the lush bindweed and blooming vine and ivy wreathed the stern. Now would the fishermen, cowering in god-sent terror, have dived into the sea, but ere that the boat came to land."

The miniature which follows these verses (fig. 164) is extremely close to the text. One recognizes in the center of a boat the coffer of pine enclosing the infant Dionysus, and on either side of it a Maenad who raises her hand in astonishment. They are clad in simple garments and wear jeweled crowns surrounded by ivy leaves, being quite different in their appearance from the Maenads in previous scenes (figs. 114 and 157) who could be derived from classical models. There was probably no ancient model available for this boat scene and so the illustrator in a period already remote from antiquity created new types. The third inmate is the fisherman, whose gestures clearly indicate his worry about the secret coffer, though he is not old as the text says. On the "flowering benches" of the boat may be noticed the blossoms of the "blooming vine" at the left and some bundles of what is supposed to be bindweed and ivy leaves at the right. Every detail is explained by the Pseudo-Oppian text and there is no need to refer to any other source. Apollodorus (III, V, 3) tells a similar miracle of the boat filled with ivy when Dionysus was carried off by Tyrrhenian pirates, but our miniature has nothing to do with this story. The problem is whether the picture was invented at the same time as the original set of animal and hunting pictures or sometime later. Because of the lack of any recognizable classical element and the rather

mediaeval appearance of the Maenads, the second assumption seems preferable, although one must always keep in mind the inclination of mediaeval illustrators to alter classical models, particularly as far as fashion is concerned.

Pseudo-Oppian continues his narrative (IV, 265-276): "And to Euboea the women came, carrying the god, and to the abode of Aristaeus, who dwelt in a cave on the top of a mountain at Caryae and who instructed the life of country-dwelling men in countless things; he was the first to establish a flock of sheep; he first pressed the fruit of the oily wild olive, first curdled milk with rennet, and brought the gentle bees from the oak and shut them up in hives. He at that time received the infant Dionysus from the coffer of Ino and reared him in his cave and nursed him with the help of the Dryads and the Nymphs that have the bees in their keeping and the maidens of Euboea and the Aonian women."

The miniature to this passage represents Aristaeus, the spender of rural blessing, three times (fig. 165). First he beats down the fruit of an olive tree with a stick while two women pick up the olives that have fallen to the ground; in the next scene, where he is inscribed *γαλουργός*, the dairy worker, he dips one hand into a huge jar while in the other he holds a small vessel, apparently pouring milk to be curdled; and finally, as a bee-keeper with a protective mask, he takes honey out of a comb, which is attached to a tree, and collects it in a bowl. Some bees are flying around and others retreat into a hive which stands in front of a tree. These scenes follow the text closely though in the first scene only the collection of olives is represented, but not their pressing, as one might expect on textual grounds.

Similar representations of plucking fruit occur occasionally in illustrated Dioscurides herbals. A manuscript from the eleventh or twelfth century on Mount Athos, Lavra cod. Ω 75,[118] depicts in the paragraph about the peony (fol. 92^r) a man climbing in a tree and plucking fruit, with which the ground is already covered, while a woman collects it in a basket. We have tried to provide the evidence[119] that these "explanatory figures," as we called them, who busy themselves with plants in various ways, occur only in later Dioscurides herbals, i.e. not before the Middle Byzantine period. The situation is quite similar to that in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript where we similarly distinguished between the original stock of scientific miniatures and later additions, which, too, are often of an explanatory nature.

The first deeds of the growing Dionysus are described by Pseudo-Oppian as follows (IV, 277-291): "And, when Dionysus was now come to boyhood, he played with the other children; he would cut a fennel stalk and smite the

[118] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 86 and fig. 68 (here further bibliography).
[119] *op. cit.*, p. 166.

hard rocks, and from their wounds they poured for the god sweet liquor. Otherwhiles he rent rams, skins and all, and clove them piecemeal and cast the dead bodies on the ground." The accompanying miniature depicts Dionysus twice, first smiting a rock from which wine pours forth, and then cutting the throat of a ram. In both cases he is clad in a short tucked-up tunic and in richly ornamented tight-fitting trousers. This is the typical costume of the hunters used throughout in those miniatures which belong to the scientific set. Moreover, we have seen that on occasion this hunting dress is also worn by mythical heroes like Perseus capturing hares (fig. 127) or Polydeuces hunting with dogs and boxing (fig. 129), and we concluded, therefore, that they, too, belong to the original set of miniatures. For the same reason it may be argued that also these two figures of Dionysus form part of the original illustration, in contradistinction to the picture of the sea voyage to Euboea and the three Aristaeus scenes which we considered to be later additions.

20. *Pentheus*

The rather extensive excursion into the story of Dionysus ends with the punishment of Pentheus. When the worshippers of Dionysus saw the god fettered by Pentheus (IV, 301-315): "Straightway they cried: 'Io! blessed one, O Dionysus, kindle thou the flaming lightning of thy father and shake the earth and give us speedy vengeance on the evil tyrant. And, O son of fire, make Pentheus a bull upon the hills, make Pentheus of evil name a bull and make us ravenous wild beasts, armed with deadly claws, that, O Dionysus, we may rend him in our mouths.' So spake they praying and the lord of Nysa speedily hearkened to their prayer. Pentheus he made a bull of deadly eye and arched his neck and made the horns spring from his forehead. But to the women he gave the grey eyes of a wild beast and armed their jaws and on their backs put a spotted hide like that of fawns and made them a savage race. And, by the devising of the god having changed their fair flesh, in the form of Leopards they rent Pentheus among the rocks."

In the miniature to this passage (fig. 166)[120] two leopards, i.e. transformed Maenads, pursue the bull-shaped Pentheus. Classical art in general refrained from representing the completed metamorphosis of human beings into animals, though sometimes it created hybrids, as, e.g., Actaeon with the head of a stag (cf. p. 15). But in the case of Pentheus all extant classical representations of his laceration from the red-figured vases[121] down to the Roman sar-

[120] Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, no. 6.

[121] O. Jahn, *Pentheus und die Mainaden*, Kiel 1841.—A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Pentheus, col. 1931.

cophagi[122] depict him, as well as the Maenads, as complete human beings. Even so, the possibility cannot be excluded that the animal scene in the Pseudo-Oppian may be an ancient invention, made up for the particular passage of the *Cynegetica*, since this is a hunting treatise the nucleus of which consists of animal pictures, and in such a setting the chasing of a bull by two leopards is most suitable. It is true that on occasion also in classical representations of the rending of Pentheus a panther or a leopard can be seen beside the attacking Maenads, as, e.g., in a sarcophagus in the Palazzo Giustiniani;[123] but in this case the predaceous animal is to be understood as part of the retinue of Dionysus rather than a transformed Maenad.

The two jumping leopards in the miniature are followed by two girls in long-sleeved garments, who are meant to represent the same Maenads before their metamorphosis into the animals to which they point as if to assure the spectator of their connection with them. They are Maenads of the Byzantine variety, comparable to those in the boat (fig. 164) and unlike the types of classical ancestry (fig. 114). Mediaeval in concept and form is also the rest of the composition. Behind the Maenads marches a bearded man, in a chlamys and with an imperial Byzantine crown on his head, who holds a candle in his hand and therefore represents Dionysus "kindling the flaming lightning," as the text says. However, for the three boys, one of whom also holds a candle, the text provides no explanation. Most likely the illustrator introduced them merely as attendants of Dionysus who have come forth from a walled city, probably meant to represent the city of Thebes.

From the formal point of view this part of the composition is closely related to the bridal scene (fig. 114) in which the bridegroom, like Dionysus, is depicted as a Byzantine emperor and accompanied by a similar candle-bearing boy. Obviously the illustrator used for both miniatures the same model, which we determined to be an aristocratic Psalter (p. 108). Like the bridal scene, this is again an eclectic miniature, the bull and the leopards belonging to the original set of illustrations, whereas the human figures, which are typically Byzantine, were added later. But the Pentheus miniature is less complex since the third source, which provided the classical Maenad types for the bridal scene, is not here involved.

C. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL MINIATURES

In our introductory remarks to the Venetian manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica* we made the statement that its miniatures can be divided into two categories, the scientific ones consisting of the hunting and

[122] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, pp. 519-523 with figs. and pl. CXXXIX, no. 434c.

[123] G. E. Rizzo, *Bull. Comunale di Roma*, XXXIII, 1905, p. 38 and pls. III-IV, no. 2.

animal pictures proper, and those containing mythological and related subjects which we considered to be later additions to the archetype. As a result of our analysis of the miniatures this statement must now to some extent be modified. It turned out that the original set of hunting scenes already included the following mythical heroes whose pictures were made up directly from the Pseudo-Oppian text without interference from any other literary or pictorial source:

8. Perseus capturing a hare (fig. 127)
8. Castor hunting on horseback (fig. 128)
8. Polydeuces shooting wild beasts (fig. 129)
8. Polydeuces boxing and hunting with hounds (fig. 129)
8. Hippolytus hunting with nets (fig. 130)
8. Atalanta and Orion hunting (fig. 131)
19. Dionysus smiting a rock (fig. 165)
20. Leopards pursuing a bull (Maenads and Pentheus) (fig. 166)

Of these heroes Perseus, Castor, Polydeuces, Hippolytus, Atalanta, and Orion are characteristically enough not even a part of a mythological scene in the strict sense of the word, but are occupied with hunting like all the other hunters in Pseudo-Oppian, and are therefore in the professional costume with embroidered leggings and tucked-in tunics. For the same reason, Dionysus smiting the rock and killing the ram also belongs to this group. In this respect the heroic hunters are just as homogenous with the original set of miniatures as they are different from the heroes in the mythological representations proper, like the Perseus in classical plate-armor (fig. 124) or the Polydeuces in heroic nakedness (fig. 118). A complete homogeneity exists also between the leopards pursuing the bull (fig. 166) and the many similar animal pictures in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts, whereas a mythological rendering of the episode would have required an anthropomorphic representation of Pentheus and the Maenads.

Besides these few exceptions all the other miniatures which we described and considered to be additions can be divided into two groups. The first comprises the mythological subjects alluded to in the text but which cannot be fully explained without reference to some other text as source. Consequently we assume that these other texts were illustrated and that some of their pictures were taken over into the *Cynegetica*. The second group consists of non-mythological miniatures whose compositional schemes, but not their content, is borrowed from other Byzantine miniatures and more or less successfully refitted for the *Cynegetica* text. Because of the change of content the original meaning of the adapted compositional scheme is often difficult and at times even impossible to determine. In the first group we deal, therefore, primarily

with iconographic problems of the transmission of certain mythological subjects, while in the second we are faced chiefly with the artistic aspect of the transmission of borrowed compositional formulae.

For the mythological miniatures we assume once more, as for the miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus, that Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke* was the main source. The following scenes are, in our opinion, to be derived from this illustrated classical handbook of mythology, either as a whole or in parts, unchanged or changed, including a few doubtful features:

4. Bellerophon and the Chimera (Ap. II, III, 2) (fig. 112)
6. Polydeuces slaying Amycus (Ap. I, IX, 20) (fig. 118)
6. Laconian woman in childbed (perhaps adaptation from the birth of Dionysus?) (Ap. III, IV, 3) (fig. 119)
8. Perseus and Gorgon (Ap. II, IV, 2) (fig. 124)
12. Heracles and the kine of Geryon (Ap. II, V, 10) (fig. 138)
13. Hermes (probably from rape of Persephone) (Ap. I, V, 1-3) (fig. 143)
13. Zeus with thunderbolt (probably from birth of Dionysus) (Ap. III, IV, 3) (fig. 143)
14. Phineus and the Harpies (Ap. I, IX, 21) (fig. 147)
14. The Boreads pursuing the Harpies (Ap. I, IX, 21) (fig. 148)
15. Rhea hiding the infant Zeus (Ap. I, I, 5) (fig. 150)

The evidence in support of our thesis that an illustrated Apollodorus must still have existed in the Middle Byzantine period as the most popular mythological handbook, has been discussed in connection with the Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures (p. 83) and need not be repeated. Compared with the scenes from Apollodorus in the latter, those in Pseudo-Oppian increase our knowledge of the picture cycle of the original handbook considerably, since most of them are not duplications. On the other hand, those few instances where the same themes do occur in both manuscripts show quite clearly that they hark back to the same classical source. This is quite evident in the scene of the killing of the Chimera by Bellerophon (figs. 23 and 112), in spite of a different compositional arrangement which in all likelihood is due to changes on the part of the Byzantine copyists. In other cases the connection is somewhat obscured. Although the group of Rhea hiding the infant Zeus is of ancient descent in Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 150) while it is replaced by the infant in the cradle in Pseudo-Nonnus (fig. 36), yet the types of Corybantes around the babe Zeus, playing identical instruments, point once more to a common archetype. In two other cases the relationship is only indirect. Hermes among the divinities of Mount Olympus (fig. 143), whom we derived from a scene of the rape of Persephone, is lacking in the representation of this theme in the

Vatican manuscript (fig. 48), but the dependence of both miniatures on the iconography of the Roman sarcophagi (fig. 49) which show Hermes and the Persephone rape united, establishes the link between the two miniatures. Similarly the sarcophagi (fig. 54) provide the link whereby the Zeus throwing the thunderbolt (fig. 143) can be related to the Semele scene in Pseudo-Nonnus (figs. 52-53) where the following phase of the same episode is depicted, namely the taking of the babe from Semele's womb.

Three miniatures illustrate episodes from the adventures of the Argonauts: Polydeuces slaying Amycus (fig. 118), Phineus being molested by the Harpies (fig. 147), and the pursuit of the latter by Zetes and Calais (fig. 148). Here the text of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* fits just as well as that of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*, and it is by no means improbable that the former was already illustrated and used as model by the illustrator of the latter. It must be kept in mind that in the case of a mythological handbook we deal, not only from the literary but also from the pictorial point of view, with a compilation which used not only earlier texts but also earlier illustrations. Another instance of this kind is the miniature with Heracles and the kine of Geryon which can be explained out of Apollodorus. But then there are the putti, which were taken from a picture of the drunken Heracles at the court of Omphale, a scene for which there is no explanation in Apollodorus. So in all probability we have to assume an older and fuller text of the life of Heracles as source.

Yet, important as the influence of the mythological handbook must have been, it surely was not the only source of the Pseudo-Oppian painter. Also in this respect the situation is quite similar to that in the Pseudo-Nonnus illustrations where besides those derived from Apollodorus a few more occur which go back to other illustrated classical texts. Some of the additional sources of the Pseudo-Oppian painter could be established with certainty, among them the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes, from which the following three scenes were copied:

3\. Bucephalas brought before Philip (Ps.-C. I, 13) (fig. 108)
3\. Bucephalas in prison (Ps.-C. I, 13) (fig. 109)
3\. Alexander pursuing Darius (Ps.-C. II, 16) (fig. 109)

While the first two miniatures may have followed each other already in the first book of Pseudo-Callisthenes' romance as they do in the Venetian manuscript, the third is an isolated scene out of the second book. Judging from the later manuscripts of the Alexander Romance, the original cycle must have been very extensive, and the Pseudo-Oppian painter picked out only those scenes which had to do with Bucephalas. Having established the existence of an early illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes as one of the sources

of Pseudo-Oppian, it is no longer surprising to find its reflection also in Pseudo-Nonnus where we suggested that the cynocephali of the Hecate miniature (fig. 70) were derived from the Alexander Romance.

Another source clearly determinable is an illustrated Iliad though only one scene was copied from it:

2. Achilles and Xanthus (Il. XIX, 395) (fig. 103)

This proves that an illustrated Homer, the knowledge of which was hitherto based primarily on the early Iliad manuscript in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, was still accessible to a Middle Byzantine miniaturist. This Xanthus picture in the Pseudo-Oppian is the only indication of its survival in Byzantine book illumination we know of, since the miniatures which were added to the tenth century manuscript in the Marciana in Venice, cod. gr. 454, some centuries later,[1] are no longer based on an ancient pictorial tradition.

Next to Homer the most frequently illustrated text in classical antiquity was apparently the dramas of Euripides,[2] from which several scenes were copied by the Pseudo-Oppian painter in the one miniature which deals with Jealousy (fig. 159):

18. a. Theseus finding the weapons in Troezen (from the *Aegeus*)
    b. Athamas killing Learchus (from the *Ino*)
    c. Themisto's infanticide (from the *Ino*)
    d. The slaughtering of Pelias by his daughters at the instigation of Medea (from the *Peliades*)
    e. The infanticide of Medea (from the *Medea*)

It is interesting to note that among the four dramas from which these scenes were taken, only one, the *Medea*, is among the nineteen dramas preserved today. This means that in the Middle Byzantine period more dramas of this great poet were still known than we are able to read in our time, and that some or at least one of these copies must have had a cyclic illustration from which the Pseudo-Oppian painter could select the pictures he needed to illustrate the theme of jealousy. This miniature is the only instance we know of at present where a Euripides illustration is still preserved in the original medium, i.e. book illumination, though no longer in its original textual context.

Finally, there are some miniatures and single figures where we are unable to determine with certainty the basic text with which they were originally connected. On the basis of their subject matter we can only suggest more

[1] Dom. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis Codex Venetus A, Marcianus 454* (Codices Graeci et Latini, VI), Leyden 1901.—Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie*, p. 171 and XXIX; fig. 87.

[2] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 44 and *passim*.

generally the realm of Hellenistic poetry to which the assumed basic texts belonged. In this group are included all the remaining classical elements which we were able to trace:

5. Two brides (as represented by two dancing Maenads) (fig. 114)
7. Centaur and Satyrs (fig. 123)
9. The bucolic (from a pastoral scene) (fig. 132)
13. Pan and Aphrodite (from a contest of Pan and Eros) (fig. 143)
15. Rhea-Cybele (adapted from the triumph of Ariadne and a dancing Eros) (fig. 153)
16. A frantic Maenad (fig. 157)

Most of the scenes or single figures are related to the Bacchic thiasus and therefore most likely to be derived from a single source. In the Rhea miniature (fig. 153) an Ariadne type from a representation of her triumph was taken over and changed in its meaning after having been disassociated from Dionysus with whom she shared the cart in the classical model (fig. 154). The Maenads and Satyrs (figs. 114 and 123), too, were isolated from larger Bacchic scenes and placed in a new surrounding whereby the original meaning became obscured. It would be futile to try to determine the original context of these Bacchic figures, not only because of their formal isolation, but because the literary tradition on which they are based is just as fragmentary as the pictorial one. The only preserved poem with the story of Dionysus is the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis which is not earlier than the fifth century A.D. However, this text does not explain the scene of the triumph of Dionysus and Ariadne as fragmentarily represented in the Rhea miniature[3] and, furthermore, the prototypes of the figures in the miniature seem to point to a model earlier than the fifth century A.D. The numerous Dionysiac poems of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, some one of which was in all likelihood illustrated, are all lost. Only a few titles are transmitted to us such as the Βασσαρικά of Dionysius (second century A.D.) or the Βασσαρικὰ ἤτοι Διονυσιακά of Soterichus of Oasis (third century A.D.). It therefore seems desirable to describe the Bacchic figures in our miniatures merely as remnants of a "Dionysiac cycle."

The model of the Bucolic (fig. 132) who resembles so closely a shepherd in the *Georgics* of the Virgilius Romanus in the Vatican (fig. 133), has of course to be sought in Bucolic poetry, though a particular scene cannot be proposed on the basis of a single figure. That Bucolic literature was illustrated we know from a fourteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. gr. 2832, which contains the *Idyllia* of Theocritus and two of the popular Hellenistic pattern-poems which are enriched by

[3] Cf. the passage Lib. XLVII, 265-471, which deals with Ariadne.

human figures around them. Yet, some doubts have been raised, not without foundation, as to the classical origin of these miniatures.[4]

Finally, the figures of Aphrodite as gymnasiarch and of the assaulting Pan (fig. 143) that were excerpted from a larger composition of the contest between Pan and Eros lead us into a similar realm of Hellenistic poetry. It is of particular interest to notice that the Pompeian fresco which represents this contest (fig. 146) has an epigram in four lines in Greek, written on the ground,[5] and the same is true for the other frescoes of the same room. A fresco would be an unlikely medium for the first association of text and picture, and the fresco painter probably used an illustrated collection of epigrams as model, the same one which the Pseudo-Oppian painter used for his figures of Pan and Aphrodite.

The following list comprises the second group of added miniatures or single figures, namely those which are derived from Byzantine sources:

1. Oppian before Caracalla (fig. 100)
1. Calliope and Oppian (fig. 101)
1. Artemis and Oppian (fig. 102)
5. The bridegroom and the candle-boy (fig. 114)
6. The Laconian woman, Nireus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus, and Castor (fig. 118)
6. Apollo and Dionysus (fig. 119)
10. The Naumachy (fig. 134)
11. The city of Apamea and the river god (fig. 137)
13. The homicide scene (fig. 143, right half)
17. The sack of a city (fig. 158)
18. The personification of Jealousy (fig. 159) (?)
19. Dionysus carried to Euboea (fig. 164)
19. The occupations of Aristaeus (fig. 165)
20. Dionysus holding a candle and attendants (fig. 166)

This group includes mainly those scenes and figures from classical mythology which pictorially have no classical ancestry. In all likelihood the Pseudo-Oppian painter did not find suitable models for them and had to invent new scenes, for which he made frequent use of compositional schemes which he saw in other Byzantine, mostly Christian manuscripts. In this respect he was faced with a similar situation as the first illustrator of Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries, who had to make up a number of scenes, mainly the repre-

[4] H. Omont, *Miniatures des manuscrits grecs*, p. 60, pl. CXXX.—*Idem*, *Mon. Piot*, XII, 1905, p. 155, pls. 11-12.—F. Studniczka, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-24, p. 58 and fig. 1.—Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, p. 174 and XXIX; figs. 90-91.—C. Wendel, "Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XVI, 1907, pp. 460ff.

[5] C. Dilthey, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XLVIII, 1876, pp. 294ff. and tav. d'agg. P.

sentations of cults which did not exist in an illustrated Apollodorus or any other classical source. In some instances at least the Pseudo-Oppian painter seems to have had enough imagination to create new figures or even whole scenes on the basis of the *Cynegetica* text. For instance, Apollo and Dionysus before the woman in childbed (fig. 119) are neither classical types nor are comparable ones likely to be found in other Byzantine manuscripts. The miniature of the infant Dionysus carried in a coffer to Euboea (fig. 164) may also be an invention, though in this case we cannot be so sure. Our material is too scanty to determine what wealth of illustrated texts in the tenth and eleventh centuries the illustrator of Pseudo-Oppian may have had at his disposal.

Zelos, who in Apollodorus (I, II, 4) is mentioned as an offspring of Styx and Pallas, is in Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 159) understood as a personification rather than a mythological figure. Yet, a personification of Jealousy may easily have existed also in classical art, though none seems to have survived. At the same time the Middle Byzantine period did invent new personifications, as we know from the famous Psalter manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 139.[6] Thus it seems preferable to leave the issue of the classical descent of this personification undecided.

In other instances the Pseudo-Oppian painter clearly leaned upon Byzantine models for his classical heroes. For a painter who worked in a large scriptorium of the capital a great variety of illustrated texts must have been available, Old and New Testaments, liturgical and patristic manuscripts, and scientific texts of all kinds. The series of beautiful youths, such as Nireus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus, and Castor (fig. 118), was inspired by the figures of saints in a menologion, and the compositional scheme for Aristaeus collecting olives (fig. 165) was familiar from illustrated herbals of the Middle Byzantine period.

In one case it could be demonstrated that the same model was used twice, namely for the candle-bearing boy who accompanies the bridegroom (fig. 114) as well as Dionysus (fig. 166). The common model is the personification of Orthros who in an "aristocratic Psalter" or Prophetbook (fig. 116) confronts the praying Isaiah. This type of Psalter, to which some of the most sumptuous creations of Byzantine art belong, had a profound influence on book illumination in general; in the Pseudo-Oppian it is apparent not only in the figure of Orthros, but also in the river god of the Apamea picture (fig. 137), who can be derived from the mountain god Bethlehem in the miniature of the psalming David (fig. 136). Next to the Psalter the most popular Old Testament manuscript in Byzantine art is the Octateuch, which, too, seems to have been used. We have mentioned the similarity between the pic-

[6] Weitzmann, *Jahrb. f. Kunstw.*, 1929, pp. 189ff.

ture of Oppian confronting Calliope (fig. 101) and that of Adam naming the animals, and also between the sack of the city (fig. 158) and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. However, it should not be overlooked that in both cases not a single figure is identical with the cited parallels; only the general compositional schemes are similar, a coincidence which nevertheless seems hardly accidental.

The models used by the Pseudo-Oppian painter are indeed of a great variety, and among them was apparently also a chronicle, from which he copied the Naumachy (fig. 134). Though we possess today only the fourteenth century copy of the Scylitzes Chronicle in Madrid (fig. 135) there are indications that illustrated chronicles of a considerable variety existed since the Early Byzantine period and had a marked influence on Byzantine art in general.[7] In this branch of book illumination we have perhaps the severest loss in our extant manuscript material. Whether also the homicide scene (fig. 143) is copied from a chronicle or perhaps a romance is impossible to say in view of the scarcity of profane Byzantine book illumination.

As far as the three dedication miniatures with the author portraits are concerned (figs. 100-102) we have already pointed out that the poet type with the short tunic does not suggest the copying of an ancient author portrait. This raises the question whether the *Cynegetica* had originally an author portrait at all. The two frontispieces with the portraits of Crateuas and Dioscurides, e.g., in the famous herbal in Vienna, which show a distinct classical character,[8] and similar instances leave no doubt that scientific treatises were in classical antiquity at times preceded by author portraits. Nevertheless they seem to have been quite rare, since by far the majority of ancient scientific treatises, of which fairly numerous copies are preserved, are without them.

Our list of additions from Byzantine sources does not pretend to be complete. There are some more figures as, e.g., a woman in labor (fol. 18ʳ), or a goat thief (fol. 18ᵛ), and a few others not directly connected with hunting, which are so amalgamated into the animal scenes that no formal or iconographical discrepancies are discernible which would reveal that they are later additions. Although we have, as we believe, by determining a considerable amount of later additions, developed a method by which the original state of the archetype of the illustrated Pseudo-Oppian can be reestablished, yet we are fully aware that such a reconstruction—as philologists who try to free a text from later additions would agree—has only the value of an approximate certainty.

[7] Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, XVI, 1942-43, pp. 87ff.

[8] Cf. most recently: P. Buberl, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, LI, 1936, p. 114.

When were the additions to the original picture cycle of Pseudo-Oppian made and did their insertion happen all at once or in several phases? There is good evidence that several of the additions are not older than the Middle Byzantine period. The boy with the candle (fig. 114) has his closest parallel in a late tenth century miniature (fig. 116) which, in turn, depends on a slightly earlier Psalter like the famous one in Paris, cod. gr. 139, to which we ascribed a date close to the middle of the tenth century.[9] Here the boy still holds the ancient torch instead of a candle. In an earlier study[10] we have tried to demonstrate that the Orthros, together with many other personifications, was created for a Renaissance Psalter of the tenth century. This includes also the mountain god Bethlehem of the Paris Psalter (fig. 136), who was used as model for the river god in the Apamea picture (fig. 137). All this suggests a date not earlier than the tenth century for those additions of the Pseudo-Oppian painter which are Byzantine in character. Further details may be mentioned to support this contention. The costumes in the homicide scene (fig. 143) point decidedly to a Middle Byzantine model. The melon-shaped hat of the threatened man has its closest parallel in one of the dedication pictures of the codex Paris Coislin 79 (from about the year 1078 A.D.), in which Nicephorus Botoniates is surrounded by court officials.[11] Also the very fashionable bolero and the fur cap of the killer are not much earlier than the actual Venetian manuscript. But admittedly arguments based on costumes are very weak since fashion undergoes quick changes in the process of copying.[12]

The first group of mythological additions could, theoretically speaking, have been inserted much earlier, perhaps already in the archetype, because there are no alterations of iconography or of fashion involved as in the additions just described. If nevertheless we assume that they, too, were not in the archetype but inserted very much later, it is for the reason that in several cases the additions from both groups are so inseparable that they must have been taken over jointly into the Pseudo-Oppian. The most striking example is the bridal scene (fig. 114), where the dancing Maenads could never have existed without the bridegroom and the Orthros whom we have just explained as insertions of the tenth century at the earliest. The same is true for the miniature in which Eros' power is shown in Mount Olympus as well as on earth (fig. 143). The group of divinities and the homicide scene are an inseparable unit as to their content although the formal elements were taken

[9] Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, No. 3), Princeton 1948, p. 75.—For an earlier date, cf. C. R. Morey, "The 'Byzantine Renaissance,'" *Speculum*, XIV, 1939, pp. 139ff.

[10] Weitzmann, *Jahrb. f. Kunstw.*, 1929, pp. 186 and 189ff.

[11] Omont, *Miniatures des manuscrits grecs.*, pl. LXIII.

[12] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 157ff.

from different models. This proves once more that the mythological part could not have existed without the Byzantine part and that both must have been inserted at the same time. Also the mythical boxing match between Amycus and Polydeuces on the one hand (fig. 118) and the figures of Nireus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus and Castor, which were copied from a menologion (figs. 120-121), on the other, are united by their content and make the assumption that they were successive additions to the Pseudo-Oppian text highly improbable.

Thus we conclude that it was not before the tenth century that the scientific set of illustrations of the *Cynegetica*, which consists of the animal pictures and hunting scenes proper, was enriched by all these miniatures which have been the subject of our present study. At that time an illustrated Apollodorus, along with several other classical texts, must still have existed to be exploited by the artist who first expanded the picture cycle. This conclusion coincides with the results of our investigation of the miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus' commentaries. It hardly can be regarded as fortuitous that two such different texts as Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian adapted at about the same time mythological scenes from classical sources and actually used, as could be demonstrated in a few instances, the very same models. From all we know about the tenth century in Constantinople it was a period particularly susceptible to a new influx of classical elements.

III. BYZANTINE IVORY CASKETS

A. THE CHARACTER OF THE SO-CALLED ROSETTE CASKETS

THE first volume of the corpus of the Byzantine ivories[1] comprises the caskets which on account of their typical ornamental borders are commonly called "rosette caskets" and which were made for secular use, presumably to hold wedding gifts. One group of these caskets, named in the corpus "antikisierende Kästen," is predominantly, though not exclusively, classical in the subject matter of the adorning plaques.[2] It is the largest in number and at the same time contains examples of the greatest artistic quality, as e.g. the casket from Veroli in London (figs. 214, 227, 229, 232, 247).[3] The chief peculiarities of its style, the high relief in which the details are designed, nevertheless, on a fairly flat surface while the actual height is achieved by a deep undercutting all around the outline, the predilection for figures in vivid action and the stress on undulated outlines, all these peculiarities can be found also in the so-called "malerische Gruppe," the first group in the second volume of Byzantine ivories.[4] This name was chosen for the reason that the majority of the plaques obviously were copied from painted models which in most cases were surely miniatures. From the stylistic similarities between the "antikisierende Kästen" and the plaques of the "malerische Gruppe" the conclusion was drawn that both must have been produced in Constantinople in the same workshop. Most of them belong to the tenth century, none is earlier, but a few reach down into the eleventh century.[5]

Interspersed among the classical subjects of the caskets are a few Biblical scenes for most of which the exact models could be traced in miniature painting. It could be shown, e.g., that several scenes of the Vatican Joshua Roll were copied, sometimes even with text passages, which show the same lacunae as the short text that runs along the bottom of the parchment sheets of the Vatican Rotulus.[6] Other caskets contain only single Biblical figures, mixed with the classical repertory, and then the precise models are often difficult to determine or even completely obscured.[7]

Since the plaques of the "malerische Gruppe" as well as the Biblical figures of the rosette caskets are copied from miniatures, in the first case pri-

[1] A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I, Kästen, Berlin 1930 (abbreviated subsequently G.-W. I).

[2] G.-W. I, pp. 17-19, nos. 21-64. Cf. also the "Kästen mit Josua Darstellungen," p. 16, nos. 1-20 and vol. II, nos. 236-243.

[3] G.-W. I, p. 30, no. 21, pls. IX-X.

[4] A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. II, Reliefs, Berlin 1934 (abbreviated subsequently G.-W. II), p. 13, nos. 1-30, pls. I-IX.

[5] Cf. vol. II: Berichtigung zu Band I.

[6] G.-W. I, p. 23 and pl. I, nos. 1-4.

[7] G.-W. I, p. 16.

marily from New Testament manuscripts, in the second from an Octateuch, it seems only natural to assume that the other casket reliefs, too, go back to miniature painting. When the text to the first volume of the corpus was written, iconographical parallels were cited in various groups of monuments and media of ancient art such as marble statues, sarcophagi, stucco reliefs, silverware, and others. It was suggested that silver might have played an important role as a transmitter of classical types to the Byzantine ivory carvers. Though this idea must not entirely be abandoned, it seems now, after our discussion of the mythological miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts, that the main source was also in this case miniature painting and that the decorative minor arts played only a secondary role. It may be recalled that in the analysis of the miniatures of Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian we could already in several instances point to a connection with the casket reliefs (pp. 122, 129, 130 and figs. 142, 155, 156) and draw the conclusion that the artists of these two different media used the same illustrated classical texts as models. It seems justifiable, then, to study the classicizing caskets again from this new point of view.

However, we shall not try to trace the miniature model for each classical figure in the ivory caskets. Our investigation will be limited to those types that can be related to the classical texts which we have already established with more or less certainty on the basis of the Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian illustrations. There are indications that even other illustrated texts were available to the ivory carvers which were not used in these manuscripts. Yet, scattered and isolated from their original context as most ivory figures are, they cannot be traced back to their classical models unless they can be related at the same time to contemporary Byzantine miniatures in which the single types are still preserved in a scenic connection, and this, unfortunately, is possible in only very few instances. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the ivory worker did not consult the illustrated manuscripts each time he carved a classical figure, but that in most cases he copied it from an earlier ivory. There was probably only a single large-scale transmission, in the early tenth century, of classical types from miniatures into the new medium. After that the ivory carvers were on their own, developing a style in which the classical types rapidly disintegrated. Obviously these types were very soon no longer understood in their original meaning and were gradually transformed into putti-like figures of merely decorative character.

On the extant rosette caskets there are very few coherent scenes where the figures are still in their original context, and even for the Veroli casket, the best of the whole group, some transformation through the process of copying within the ivory workshop must already be assumed. It thus becomes obvious that the identification of scenes, and especially of single figures, can

be achieved only with varying degrees of certainty, depending mainly on how far the ornamentalization as the result of repeated copying has progressed.

On the other hand, a number of types can be identified, but these, because of their isolation, no longer reveal their original scenic connection. This is true particularly for several figures of gods and goddesses who have a definite statuary character, such as Zeus, Aphrodite, Asclepius, Hygeia, Selene,[8] and others. They might very well belong to one of the illustrated texts to be mentioned below, but we cannot be sure unless earlier ivory copies or corresponding miniatures show up in which they are part of a larger scene.

In the following discussion the figures of the caskets will be grouped according to the classical texts from which we believe them to be taken. They will appear often isolated from their present context, which, however, can easily be checked in the plates of the corpus.

B. CLASSIFICATION OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECT MATTER

1. *Scenes from a Mythological Handbook*

The first story of Pseudo-Nonnus, as may be remembered, deals with the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus, of which there are miniatures in both the Jerusalem and the Vatican manuscripts (figs. 2-3). This same story is apparently illustrated on a casket plaque in the Museo Arqueologico in Madrid (fig. 167).[1] Here there is the remnant of a third chariot—a fact which might contradict the proposed identification—but it appears to be merely a repetition of the first chariot. The complete frieze may have had even more chariots and may have originally either repeated the same scene for mere decorative purposes or represented an earlier phase of the same adventure in cyclic manner. The victorious, youthful Pelops looks back toward Oenomaus and stretches out both arms in a joyful gesture, as he does in both miniatures, but not in the related sarcophagi (figs. 4-5). Oenomaus on the second chariot is characterized by a long beard, as in the miniatures and sarcophagi alike, although a professional charioteer of the circus would normally have been represented as a youth. Two of the four tumbling horses of Oenomaus' chariot turn their heads around to the defeated king exactly as in the miniatures, while in the Louvre sarcophagus (fig. 5) only one horse looks back.

In other details the ivory is more faithful to the common classical model than the two miniatures. The structure of the racing car, particularly the

[8] G.-W. I, pl. XII, nos. 26f. (left); pl. IX, no. 21b (left); pl. XIII, no. 27a (left); pl. IX, no. 21b (right); pl. XV, no. 28d (left).

[1] G.-W. I, p. 41 and pl. XXV, no. 46; here simply explained as a chariot race.

position of its wheels, is much better understood than in any chariot of the Byzantine miniatures (cf. the figs. 20 and 103). Furthermore, the manner in which Pelops has the reins taken around the hips, is in close agreement with the Louvre sarcophagus (fig. 5) but is not made clear in the two Pelops miniatures. These various mutual relationships seem to indicate that the ivory carver used the very same Apollodorus manuscript as source which was available to the first illustrator of the Pseudo-Nonnus commentaries.

In a second instance the relation between ivory and miniature is not quite so certain. A short side of a casket in Baltimore represents a fighting group (fig. 168),[2] in which one of the combatants holds the head of his defeated adversary down to the ground and is just about to strike him with a sword. The style of the casket shows an advanced state of transformation; all the figures have become putti, so that a good deal of the iconographical distinction of the miniature model has been lost. The fight resembles the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus as represented in a miniature of Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 118). That this is indeed the scene represented on the ivory, in spite of its disintegration here into a scuffle of putti, is suggested by certain features, such as the opponent knocked down to the ground and the blow struck at his head. The third figure, however, who seems to rush to the aid of the defeated adversary, cannot be explained as part of the Amycus adventure by the texts either of Apollodorus (I, IX, 20) or of Apollonius Rhodius (II, 94ff.), both of whom describe this episode at some length. But the mixing of types from different scenes is so frequent a procedure in the rosette caskets that a merely extra figure proves nothing, either for or against any interpretation. A further possible objection to the proposed identification of this scene is the sword in the hand of the assailant. This may, of course, be merely a corruption on the part of the ivory carver because he no longer understood the meaning of the scene, but it renders the identification even more tenuous.

A scene on a plaque of a casket in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 170) was tentatively identified in the corpus as Triptolemus disseminating seed.[3] The snake in the figure's hand and the little wing on his shoulder were explained as remnants of the snake chariot, which the narrowness of the plaque prevented from being represented. The identification was based on a certain similarity of the scene to one in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 169)[4] where Triptolemus is shown, in the presence of Demeter and Perseph-

[2] G.-W. I, p. 38 and pl. XXII, no. 40e; here merely described as two fighting putti.

[3] G.-W. I, p. 27 and pl. VI, no. 12c.—The interpretation of this figure as Nemesis, as proposed by A. Grabar (*L'Empereur dans l'art Byzantin*, Paris 1936, p. 74), has its main difficulty in the fact that the ivory figure is undoubtedly male.

[4] A. Sogliano, *Le Pitture murali Campane*, Naples 1879, p. 26, no. 99 (here the older bibliography). —J. Overbeck, *Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig 1872, I, pl. XVI, no. 12.—Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, fig. on p. 511.

one, also sowing seed. Another ivory plaque on a casket in Cividale (fig. 171)[5] is in some respects even closer to the classical model in that the figure is clad in a chlamys and turns its head around. However, the way the snake coils about the body and arm of Triptolemus seems to be a further corruption of the model. Yet if we look at the Pompeian fresco, where the snakes of the chariot are very close to either side of Triptolemus, it is not hard to understand how a copyist, to whom the meaning of his model was no longer clear, arrived at such a corruption.

Our identification of these two ivory figures as Triptolemus is further supported by the miniature of the Vatican Pseudo-Nonnus (fig. 48), where, behind the chariot in the rape of Persephone scene, Triptolemus is depicted in an attitude not unlike that of the figure in the Cividale plaque, except that the dragon chariot has been dropped altogether. Since the miniature of the rape of Persephone could, as may be recalled, be explained out of Apollodorus (I, V, 1-3), it is highly probable that the ivory plaques go ultimately back to the same source.

Besides those ivories which on account of their similarity with miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian could be derived from an illustrated Apollodorus, there may be others depending on the same literary source, although there is no evidence for this in cases where the corresponding miniatures are lacking. On a casket in the Louvre (fig. 172),[6] e.g., we see a youth playing a lyre which rests on a pedestal. In the text of the corpus he was identified as Apollo, thought to have been isolated from a scene showing his contest with Marsyas as represented on Roman sarcophagi (fig. 173).[7] If this identification of the ivory is correct, the source may indeed be Apollodorus, who describes the episode in the following words (I, IV, 2): "Apollo also slew Marsyas, the son of Olympus. For Marsyas, having found the pipes which Athena had thrown away because they disfigured her face, engaged in a musical contest with Apollo. . . ."[8]

Yet the lyre player might also be interpreted as Orpheus, who appears often in a similar attitude and at times even half-nude (fig. 86). Two points favor the latter interpretation: first, the figure wears boots as Orpheus sometimes does when represented in the Phrygian costume,[9] and secondly, this type is very similar to the Orpheus in Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures (figs. 82-84). Here he is represented in quite a similar attitude and also wearing boots, but fully draped in a tunic. Like the lyre player, there are other figures

[5] G.-W. I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27c.

[6] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XII, no. 26h. For replicas of the same type cf. pl. XV, no. 30e; pl. XVII, no. 31b; pl. XX, no. 33b.

[7] C. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, pl. LXVIII, no. 208.—G.-W. I, text fig. 16.

[8] Frazer, I, p. 29.

[9] G. Guidi, "Mosaico di Orfeo," *Africa Italiana*, VI, 1935, pp. 110ff. and fig. 18.

which permit more than one interpretation, but let us turn to identifications where we feel on surer ground.

2. *A Cycle of Heracles Adventures*

Of the various myths represented on the casket plaques, the most frequent is the life of Heracles. The representations of the twelve labors may very well go back to the handbook of Apollodorus, and might therefore have been treated in the preceding chapter. But we shall see later that a number of scenes from the hero's life neither belong to the dodecathlos nor can be explained by Apollodorus, and so must have been taken from some other illustrated ancient text. There is no need to assume two different sources for the ivory carvers; they depend more probably on a single source which included all the Heracles scenes in a more elaborate text than the general handbooks, i.e. an epic poem dealing solely with the life of the hero. Yet the possibility that two different sources are involved cannot entirely be dismissed. For one thing, the struggle with the lion of Nemea appears in two different versions (fig. 174-175) and it is hardly likely that one manuscript depicted both. However, our literary sources for the life and deeds of Heracles are so scanty that it would be an impossible task to classify them according to two different texts. We have no choice, then, but to consider all scenes and figures illustrating Heracles' adventures as a unit, beginning with a series of his labors as told in Apollodorus, and being followed by the scenes of the hero's leisurely life, although such a sequence does not necessarily coincide with two different literary sources.

On the front of a casket in the Petit Palais in Paris are represented both versions of the hero's fight against the lion of Nemea (figs. 174-175).[10] In one plaque Heracles is seen in frontal position and slightly receding while he presses the neck of the rearing lion against his shoulder, and in the other he is seen from the back and bending forward while he squeezes the neck of the lion under his arm. Both types correspond equally well to the description in Apollodorus (II, V, 1): "[Heracles] heaved up his club and made after him . . . and putting his arm round its [i.e. the beast's] neck held it tight till he had choked it."[11] The first scheme of struggling seems to be the more ancient and occurs similarly on black-figured vases,[12] while the other is more common in Hellenistic and Roman monuments. Yet also the first type survives and both occur contemporaneously on Roman sarcophagi (figs. 176 and 178).[13] There exist artistically better plaques than the one on the Paris cas-

[10] G.-W. I, p. 29 and pl. VIII, no. 20b.

[11] Frazer, I, p. 187.

[12] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, vol. II, Berlin 1843, pl. XCIII.

[13] C. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 1, pls. XXXI, no. 113 and XXXIII, no. 120.

ket,[14] but in one point it reflects an iconographically purer tradition than most, for Heracles is shown without the flattering lion skin, an attribute which is, of course, an anticipation at the moment he is still fighting the lion.

In one instance, on the short side of a casket in Arezzo (fig. 177),[15] Heracles is assisted by a man who holds the hero's club and can be none other than Iolaus, the companion in arms. Already on black- and red-figured vases he is associated with this labor,[16] although literary sources mention him only in connection with other adventures and not the lion fight. Since no monument later than the severe vases seems to have been preserved showing Iolaus as participant of the lion fight, the ivory of the Arezzo casket, if our interpretation of it is correct, testifies that such a composition survived through the Hellenistic-Roman period, because it is in that period we must seek its model.

Perhaps related to the lion adventure is the figure of Heracles carrying the club over his shoulder with the lion skin thrown over it, as represented on a casket in the Musée de Cluny in Paris (fig. 179).[17] Heracles seems to be trying to sneak away, but this was surely not true in the ancient model and the effect here is due to the ivory carver's tendency to turn his figures into dancing putti. Another example, preserved only in a thirteenth century Western metal copy of a Byzantine ivory in the treasure of the Cathedral of Anagni (fig. 180),[18] represents a much more dignified hero in an attitude apparently nearer to the classical model. The emphasis on the lion skin suggests that the moment represented is immediately after the accomplishment of the first deed. Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that a figure of Heracles standing quietly and displaying the lion skin is occasionally substituted in classical representations of the dodecathlos for the actual fight, as e.g. in the marble base from Albano in the Museo Capitolino in Rome,[19] though here Heracles holds the skin in his hand instead of carrying it over the club.

Heracles subduing the Cerynitian hind by seizing her by the golden horns—the labor which Apollodorus (II, v, 3) describes as the third—occurs only once. A rather degenerate casket, formerly in the Oppenheimer Collection in London (fig. 181),[20] represents this scene on the lid, along with the lion fight, but we can be sure that it once existed in better copies on earlier caskets. Compared with classical examples such as the Roman sarcophagus

[14] G.-W. I, pls. XII, no. 26d; XXI, no. 33c (should read = e.), no. 35, and others.

[15] G.-W. I, pl. XVI, no. 29e.

[16] *Real Museo Borbonico*, XIV, Naples 1852, pl. XXIX and elsewhere.

[17] G.-W. I, p. 39 and pl. XXIII, no. 41b.

[18] G.-W. II, p. 85 and pl. LXXIX, no. 242b.

[19] H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, p. 62 and pl. 13, I A.

[20] G.-W. I, p. 44 and pl. XXXV, no. 55a.

in Florence (fig. 182) the scene is represented in mirror reversal, but the essential features of the classical model are nevertheless clearly recognizable.

On the lid of a casket in the Louvre, where several Heracles adventures are represented in a lengthy frieze (figs. 142 and 183),[21] the center is occupied by a figure running forward and holding a club in the right hand. Attitude and action remind us of the Heracles who in a miniature of Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 138) drives the kine of Geryon before him, as described in Apollodorus (II, V, 10). This similarity suggests that the scene on the ivory is an excerpt from a representation of that adventure, even though Heracles here holds the club with the other hand. The omission of the cattle would be in keeping with the decorative tendency of the carvers to create a homogenous frieze entirely of putti-like figures. If the identification of the scene here is correct it would once more confirm our contention that miniaturists and ivory carvers exploited the same classical model, an idea which gains support from the fact that the putti surrounding Geryon in the miniature also occur on the ivories (pp. 121-122).

The Paris casket frieze also shows the fight of Heracles against a centaur whose head he presses down to the ground. A similar fight is illustrated in a Roman fresco of the columbarium of the Villa Pamphili in Rome (fig. 184),[22] but since Heracles is involved repeatedly in combats with centaurs it is hardly possible to be more specific about those depicted in either the ivory or the fresco. In addition to the crowd of drunken centaurs slain by Heracles at the banquet of Pholus (Apoll., II, V, 4; Diod. IV, 12, 5ff.) there are two individual centaurs slain by the hero, Homadus and Eurytion.[23] In both episodes it was an act of punishment for seduction, Homadus having seduced Alcyone (Diod., IV, 12, 7), and Eurytion, Mnesimache (Apoll. II, V, 5). It may very well be that the ivory depicts one of these killings, particularly since a scene showing a woman raped by a centaur also occurs on the ivory plaques, the best of which is preserved on a casket in Cividale (fig. 185).[24] The woman might be either Alcyone or Mnesimache, though the torches in her hands are unexplained in either case. These attributes were probably introduced by the ivory carver, who no longer gave thought to the meaning of his figures. (How freely the ivory carvers made such changes can clearly be demonstrated by the instance of a plaque showing Aphrodite holding a cup [fig. 246], for which a later copy [fig. 247] substituted a meaningless torch.) The rape of

[21] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XI, no. 26e (should read = c).

[22] O. Jahn, *Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamfili* (Abh. Bayr. Akad. Philos.-Philol. Classe, vol. VIII), Munich 1858, p. 241 and pl. I, no. 2.—G. Bendinelli, *Le Pitture del colombario di Villa Pamphili* (Monumenti della pittura antica scoperta in Italia, sez. III, Roma, fasc. V), Rome 1941, tav. agg. I.

[23] Excepting two others, Chiron and Nessus who were shot by arrows.

[24] G.-W. I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27c.

Mnesimache seems to be illustrated on a vase in Leningrad,[25] but this identification is by no means sure, and the compositional scheme is different from that of our ivory. A representation of the rape of Alcyone seems not to be known.

Another centaur of the Louvre casket (fig. 186)[26] sits leaning on his left arm, as if trying to rise, in a position which hides his forelegs. The club and a garment thrown off in front of him apparently belong to Heracles, who has been omitted, obviously as the result of a necessary condensation of an originally larger scene. Yet background fillings of this kind occur already on a Heracles mosaic from Liria in Spain,[27] and even the omission of the hero himself in scenes where only his victims are represented is paralleled in a mosaic from Cartina.[28] The centaur of the ivory plaque is perhaps related to the episode in Pholoe where Heracles killed all the drunken centaurs and accidentally struck also Chiron in the knee. The centaur of the ivory may therefore be Chiron, represented at the moment when he looks at his wounded foot. The vessel at the lower left corner could, if our interpretation is correct, be understood as the container of medicine which Chiron gave to Heracles to cure his wound. But Pholus, the host, was also wounded, this time fatally, in the foot by an arrow. So the centaur may be either Chiron or Pholus, though the former seems to us more likely on the basis of Apollodorus' description (II, V, 4): "As the centaurs cowered about Chiron, Hercules shot an arrow at them, which, passing through the arm of Elatus, stuck in the knee of Chiron. Distressed at this, Hercules ran up to him, drew out the shaft, and applied the medicine which Chiron gave him. . . . But Pholus, drawing the arrow from a corpse, wondered that so little a thing could kill such big fellows; howbeit, it slipped from his hand and lighting on his foot killed him on the spot. So when Hercules returned to Pholoe he beheld Pholus dead."[29]

A plaque from a casket in the Museo Archeologico in Cividale (fig. 187) and another from a casket in the cathedral of Lyon (fig. 188)[30] illustrate the wrestling of Heracles with Antaeus. In both instances Heracles lifts up the giant, as Apollodorus describes (II, V, 11): "Being forced to wrestle with him, Hercules hugged him, lifted him aloft, broke and killed him; for when he touched earth so it was that he waxed stronger."[31] In the first plaque the gigantic size of Antaeus is much emphasized, while in the second, less distinction is made between the two fighters. In the former Antaeus puts his

[25] *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg*, 1873, atlas pl. IV.

[26] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XII, no. 26d.

[27] G. Lippold, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XXXVII, 1922, p. 1 and pl. I.

[28] E. Hübner, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XXXIV, 1862, p. 288 and tav. d'agg. Q.

[29] Frazer, I, p. 193.

[30] G.-W. I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27b.; p. 53 and pl. LIV, no. 85b.

[31] Frazer, I, p. 223.

arms around the neck of Heracles, who lifts one of the giant's legs; in the latter both the legs and arms of the wrestlers are seemingly inextricably intertwined. Neither version agrees exactly with the familiar one of classical antiquity as seen in a fresco, preserved only in an engraving, from the tomb of the Nasonii (fig. 192),[32] though there can hardly be any doubt that the ivories do go back to classical models which in the process of copying became more and more corrupted under the hands of the Byzantine carvers.

Connected with the episode of the cleaning of the stable of Augeas is a representation on a casket in Xanten (fig. 189)[33] in which Heracles, after having finished this hard labor, sits upon the wicker basket covered with a lion skin. The ivory was long ago related by archaeologists[34] to the once famous colossus from Tarentum by Lysippus, described in classical and Byzantine sources,[35] which later stood in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Though admitting the possibility of a connection between the ivory plaque and the colossus, yet it seems to us hardly likely that the Middle Byzantine artist was directly inspired by the statue in the hippodrome; his immediate model, as for all Heracles scenes, was probably a miniature. On the marble base from Albano (fig. 193),[36] which on its four sides illustrates the dodecathlos, Heracles seated on the basket replaces the more common type actually engaged in cleaning Augeas' stable. This indicates that the resting hero had already in Roman times been incorporated in the cycle of the twelve labors. The relief from Albano agrees with the ivory in that the left leg is drawn up, though the mediaeval artist misunderstood his model by letting the leg rest on the right knee. On the other hand, the attitude of the left arm differs in the two monuments: in the marble relief Heracles held either the club or the pitchfork, now destroyed, while in the ivory he lets his head rest upon the arm which is supported by the raised leg. This attitude emphasizes his melancholy mood and in this respect the ivory is indeed more faithful to the description of the colossus than to the representation on the marble base.

Heracles' adventure with the Stymphalian birds (Apoll. II, v, 6) is represented on a casket in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, where it even occurs twice (figs. 190-191).[37] Here we see an archer shooting his arrow into

[32] P. S. Bartoli-J. P. Bellori, *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum et Sepulcri Nasonum,* Rome 1680, pl. XIII.—Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll,* Princeton 1948, p. 68 and pl. XXI, no. 72.

[33] G.-W. I, p. 27 and pl. V, no. 10b.

[34] H. Graeven, "Mittelalterliche Nachbildungen des Lysippischen Herakleskolosses," *Bonner Jahrb.,* 108-109, 1902, pp. 252ff.—A. Furtwängler, *Der Herakles des Lysipp in Konstantinopel* (Sitzungsb. Bayr. Akad. Philos.-Philol. Classe), 1902, pp. 435ff.

[35] J. Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen,* Leipzig 1868, nos. 1468-1472.

[36] Stuart Jones, *Catalogue Mus. Cap.,* pl. 13, 1 B.

[37] *Catalogue of the Exhibition. "Early Christian and Byzantine Art at the Baltimore Museum of Art,"* Baltimore 1947, p. 42, no. 115 and pl. XXV.

the air just as Heracles does in the killing of the birds on the marble base from Albano (fig. 193). In the usual manner of the later caskets the figures are turned into putti, the bow is in both plaques held in the wrong hand as the result of a mirror-reversal, and the birds are omitted altogether. Yet the raising of the bow at a steep angle is characteristic enough to justify our identification.

The only other labor from the dodecathlos found on an ivory of that period is the seizing of the horses of Diomedes (Apoll. II, v, 8) which is represented on a plaque in Darmstadt (fig. 194).[38] However, this casket, whose four massive ivory plaques have now been taken apart, does not belong to the group of the rosette caskets either in the layout of the decoration or in the style of its figures. Moreover, most of its other scenes hark back to entirely different models. This makes it unlikely that its carver used the same miniature cycles as source as those on which the rosette caskets are based. Nevertheless, the scene is certainly derived from a classical model and some features of the original composition are even better preserved than in most of the rosette caskets. Heracles holds one rearing horse by the mane and raises the club while another subdued horse lies on the ground. All these features agree with the representations of this adventure on Roman sarcophagi, like the one in London (fig. 195), where in addition a third horse tries to escape in the opposite direction. It must be remembered that only a small portion of the once very widespread rosette caskets has come down to us, that others in all likelihood possessed not only the Diomedes adventure but also the remaining labors of the dodecathlos, and that only by accident are no such copies preserved.

Most of the remaining figures of Heracles on the caskets have to do either with the hero's feasting and banqueting or with the Bacchic thiasus, themes for which the basic classical texts no longer exist. A theme occurring repeatedly is Heracles playing the lyre. Surely identifiable by the lion skin on one of the plaques of a casket in the Louvre (fig. 196),[39] he is represented in a half-kneeling, half-seated position though no seat is indicated. In a replica on a casket in Florence (fig. 197)[40] Heracles sits on a faldistorium, much too small for his massive body, and whether this piece of furniture was in the ancient model is not certain. In a stucco frieze of the second century A.D. from a tomb chamber in the Via Latina in Rome (fig. 198),[41] Heracles sits on a rock playing the lyre. Dionysus himself is among the listeners and other parts of the composition also lead us into the Bacchic realm, though the exact literary source on which the scene is based is not known.

[38] G.-W. I, p. 66 and pl. LXXVI, no. 125a.

[39] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XI, no. 26b.

[40] G.-W. I, p. 37 and pl. XX, no. 33b.

[41] *Mon. inediti*, VI, 1861, pl. LII, 2.—E. Petersen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XXXIII, 1861, p. 231.—A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Heracles, col. 2190.—G.-W. I, p. 30, and fig. 9.

A unique plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 199)[42] illustrates the drunken Heracles, who, unable to steady himself, is supported by a figure in a long garment, a whole head shorter than he. The mantle and the shoes indicate an episode at the court of Omphale, for which these attributes would be the typical characterization of the hero's effeminate appearance. A Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Marco Lucrezia (fig. 200),[43] part of the decoration of a triclinium which is thoroughly Dionysian in character, represents a very similar type of drunken Heracles, here putting his arm around the shoulder of Priapus. In other classical works of art Heracles leans either on a Satyr, a Nymph, on Pan or an Eros. Yet a comparison of the ivory with the fresco from Pompeii shows clearly that the companion of Heracles in the ivory, too, is Priapus. He wears the same long garment and the characteristic cap, but, no longer understood by the ivory carver, he has been deprived of his beard. Another error is the lance, instead of a ribboned thyrsus, in the left hand of Heracles.

A second scene from the hero's life at the court of Omphale, known from several copies in Pompeian frescoes, depicts the inebriated Heracles lying on the ground while Omphale watches him from an elevated position and putti play with his weapons and his scyphus. The best-preserved replica of this composition in the Casa di Sirico (fig. 141) has already been discussed in connection with the Geryon miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript whose illustrator copied some of the playful putti around Heracles (fig. 138). Now it can be shown that the ivory carvers used the same classical model not only for the playing putti but also for the reclining Heracles himself. Though no ivory plaque with such a Heracles is preserved in the original, one appears in a faithful sixteenth century drawing of an octagonal ivory box (fig. 202)[44] which, now lost, once belonged to the famous treasure assembled by Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg for the Neue Stift in Halle. One plaque of the truncated lid represents Heracles lying in the lower right corner in a context and in an attitude so similar to that of the fresco that a connection between the two monuments is undeniable. Moreover, some of the plaques of the lost casket from Halle were copied in repoussé on a silver casket which is now in the cathedral of Anagni but was made in all probability in the Rhineland at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Among

[42] G.-W. I, p. 29 and pl. VII, no. 16.

[43] O. Jahn, *Ein Pompejanisches, den Herakles bei der Omphale darstellendes Wandgemälde* (Ber. der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. Philol.-Hist. Classe, VII), 1855, p. 215 and pl. VI.—P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, ser. I, Munich 1904ff., p. 75 and pls. 59-60.

[44] Ph. M. Halm and R. Berliner, *Das Hallesche Heiltum*, Berlin 1931, p. 65, no. 333 and pl. 157.—Weitzmann, "Abendländische Kopien Byzantinischer Rosettenkästen," *Zeitschr. f. Kunstg.*, III, 1934, p. 92 and fig. 5.—G.-W. II, p. 83 and pl. LXXVIII, no. 240.

its reliefs is the same Heracles scene (fig. 203),[45] agreeing so exactly with the drawing that we can be sure that none of the misunderstandings in the latter are due to the sixteenth century draughtsman but existed already in the original ivory relief. There is in both, e.g., a putto above the hero's head with a string in both hands who corresponds to a similar putto in the fresco from the Casa di Sirico, where he plays with a ribbon.[46] The mediaeval artist, no longer understanding this motif, mistook the ribbon for a string and fastened one end of it around the wrist of the hero's left hand. The other end is tied around Heracles' left ankle and held by a second putto, who climbs up a tree. A third putto, standing higher up in the tree so that only one of his legs is visible, holds another string which is bound around the hero's right wrist. Probably inspired by the first putto, with the misunderstood ribbon, the Byzantine ivory carver invented a new scene, of Heracles fettered by surrounding putti, for which there was no literary source. It may be observed that in the fresco of the Casa di Sirico there is also a tree with a putto climbing in it who ties up the hero's quiver. So most of the compositional elements were actually taken from the classical model, but changed according to the fancy of a humorous ivory carver.

Other putti playing with Heracles' attributes occur individually almost everywhere on the caskets, combined with other putti for purely decorative purposes. Typical are the putti who try to lift the heavy club, one of them having its end already resting upon his shoulder (fig. 141). This type is reflected in a putto of a casket in Florence (fig. 201),[47] where the club is much too big for the limited space of the plaque. The strain of his effort is still visible, in spite of his transformation into a dancing putto. Another putto on a plaque of the same casket (fig. 204),[48] who has fallen into what seems to be a basket, is derived from the one in the fresco who plays with the scyphus upon which Heracles is leaning. It may be recalled that in the miniature of Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 138) there are several putti derived from the same classical model, including those playing with the quiver who are not repeated on the ivories. These putti provide conclusive proof that the Middle Byzantine miniaturists and ivory carvers used indeed the same classical model.

This ancient model was in all likelihood one of the epic poems on the life of Heracles that, as we know from literary sources, existed in the Greco-Roman period, though none has survived. It has been previously suggested by archaeologists that one or the other of these poems was illustrated. When

[45] G.-W. II, p. 85 and pl. LXXIX, no. 242e.

[46] Even more clearly recognizable in another Pompeian fresco: Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, no. 1138.—Raoul-Rochette, *Choix de peintures de Pompéi*, Paris 1867, pl. 19.

[47] G.-W. I, p. 37 and pl. XX, no. 33b (here incorrectly explained as Iolaus).

[48] G.-W. I, pl. XXI, no. 33c.

Carl Robert in his basic study of the Megarian bowls proved that a whole group of them illustrates very precisely texts such as Homer and other poems of the κύκλος ἐπικός as well as dramas of Euripides, he was seeking a textual basis also for a cup with Heracles scenes, proposing tentatively the ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους by Matris of Thebes.[49] When another bowl with scenes from the life of Heracles appeared in the Louvre,[50] Rostovtzeff reaffirmed Robert's thesis that the illustrations of these bowls go back to an illustrated Heracles poem. But of these epic poems little more is known than the titles and the names of the authors like Peisandrus of Kameiros and Pyanissis of Halicarnassus from probably the sixth century B.C., and Rhianos, Diotimos, Phaidimos, Peisinos, and Matris of Thebes from the Hellenistic period. The Heracles cycle of the ivories throws no new light upon the lost literary source, but it does broaden our concept of the role which these illustrated Heracles poems must have played not only in the Hellenistic period, when they were used by the makers of the Megarian bowls, but centuries thereafter down to the Middle Byzantine period, when miniaturists and ivory carvers still had access to them. These poems, as still reflected from classical monuments down to the Byzantine rosette caskets, must have contained many more episodes from the life of Heracles than those of the dodecathlos. It is quite likely that even the caskets illustrate more scenes from the life of Heracles than can actually now be identified.

3. *The Childhood of Achilles*

From a miniature in Pseudo-Nonnus (figs. 12-13) with the boy Achilles riding on the back of his master Chiron, we concluded that the model was an ancient picture cycle with the story of Achilles' youth which is reflected also in several monuments of the classical and late classical periods (figs. 14-16). Apparently the same classical model left its trace also on the ivory caskets, where at least three scenes can be related to the childhood of Achilles, and where perhaps a few more might be concealed among the transformed and unidentifiable plaques.

One of the plaques of the casket in the Cluny museum (fig. 205)[51] represents a galloping centaur embracing a child who rides on his back. In the text of the corpus this group was explained as Nessus carrying Deianira across the river. In contradiction of this interpretation it can be argued that in classical art Deianira would not ride astride like an Amazon, that any such victim

[49] Robert, *Homerische Becher* (50, Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm), 1890, p. 88.

[50] F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris 1922, p. 303, no. 28, fig. 55 and pl. xa.—M. Rostovtzeff, "Two Homeric Bowls in the Louvre," *Am. Jour. Arch.*, XLI, 1937, p. 90 and figs. 3-4.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 22 and fig. 12.

[51] G.-W. I, p. 39 and pl. XXIII, no. 41c.

would to some extent resist the seducer, and, finally, that the proportions of the figure are boyish. These very objections, however, favor an interpretation of the scene as Chiron riding with the boy Achilles on his back. It is true that the composition is not quite the same as in the miniature of Pseudo-Nonnus; there the boy shoots wild animals, while here he tries to hold fast to the neck of the centaur, who, in turn, clasps him to keep him from falling off. If our interpretation is correct, only the very first stage of the boy's training in the art of riding is represented, i.e. the phase before he began to practice shooting. In other words, we have here a scene which in a cyclic narrative would precede the various hunts as they are depicted in the Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts and the classical parallels.

We have already pointed out that the original Greek text for the stories of Achilles' youth is no longer extant, but that there must have existed an *Achilleis* of the Hellenistic period which Statius used for his *Achilleis*. For the interpretation of the miniature we referred, with reservations, to this Latin poem as a substitute, and may do so also in the case of the ivories. In Statius Achilles himself tells the story of his youth (II, 113): "Often Chiron himself, while yet he was swift of foot chased me at full gallop with headlong speed o'er all the plains, and when I was exhausted by roaming over the meads he praised me joyously and hoisted me upon his back."[52] Such a passage where only riding, but not hunting, is mentioned may well have been the basis for the scene of the ivory.

A single plaque from a casket in the Le Roy Collection in Paris (fig. 206)[53] represents a centaur with a boy in his arm who grasps at his neck, eager to embrace him. In the text of the corpus this group was explained as a genre scene from the Dionysian thiasus. Now, with the knowledge that an Achilles cycle was used by the ivory carvers, we may perhaps more accurately interpret it as part of a scene showing Achilles given to Chiron to be educated. This event is represented on a bronze relief of the so-called Tensa Capitolina (fig. 207),[54] but here the boy Achilles is turned around and stretches his arms out to Peleus, who stands in the boat of the Argonauts. This means that Chiron is not receiving but delivering the child and therefore the bronze relief illustrates another phase of the same episode. However, on the late classical circular marble relief in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 209)[55] as on the ivory, the boy is offered to Chiron, who receives him from the hands of Thetis. The text of Statius alludes only to the delivery of the boy without mentioning by whom he was brought (II, 96-97), but the *Orphica Argonautica* (387ff.) say specifically that it was Thetis who did so. So the pictorial as

[52] Ed. J. H. Mozley (Loeb Classical Library), London-New York 1928, vol. II, p. 591.

[53] G.-W. I, p. 32 and pl. X, no. 24.

[54] Cf. p. 19 and note 25.

[55] Cf. p. 20 and note 26.

well as literary evidence suggests that the model of the ivory probably had a figure of Thetis confronting the centaur with the child, which, as a result of a separation of figures so frequent in the rosette caskets, has been lost from the present ivory.[56]

Still another episode from the education of Achilles we believe to be represented upon the lid of the already frequently mentioned casket in the Louvre (figs. 142 and 208). Here we see a centaur, half reclining, half seated, with his arms stretched out, who was explained in the corpus as Nessus imploring Heracles, on the basis of some similarity with a Pompeian fresco of this subject.[57] However, there is a replica of this centaur on the casket in Florence (fig. 210),[58] where he holds a staff in his left hand and extends only the right one in a gesture which could be understood as exhortation just as well as supplication. On the Roman sarcophagi this type is the familiar one of Chiron teaching Achilles. On the short side of a sarcophagus in Leningrad (fig. 211,)[59] the centaur holds a curved staff, resembling the branch of a tree, in one hand and raises the other in encouragement to his young pupil. On the basis of this parallel, we believe that the centaur in the ivory, too, should be identified as Chiron rather than Nessus.

In the sarcophagus relief Achilles is seen either striking or throwing an object. The attitude is not quite clear and archaeologists are in disagreement about the nature of the sport. Robert suggested pugilism, others the throwing of a discus. Now it may be observed that in the Louvre casket there is a youth confronting the centaur (fig. 208),[60] who looks as if he were tearing a branch from a tree. But this motif seems to be a corruption of the ivory carver, and originally the tree served merely as a space filler. In all likelihood the youth is once more Achilles either striking or throwing an object, i.e. either boxing or throwing a discus. Both exercises are mentioned in a passage in Statius (II, 156ff.): "For to fling the Oebalian quoit far out of sight into the clouds, or to practice the holds of the sleek wrestling-bout, and to scatter blows with the boxing-gloves were sport and rest to me."[61] The attitude of Achilles in the sarcophagus resembles that of a boxer, as Robert already suggested, while that of the Achilles in the ivory is more appropriate for a discus

[56] In the Coptic bronze plate in Cairo (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, pl. XXVI; cf. also our p. 20 and note 27) the composition is changed considerably. Thetis, who is nimbed, leads the child Achilles to Chiron, who leans on a club. Apparently a Christian iconographic scheme has partly replaced the classical, namely the scheme of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple so that only Chiron is left of the original composition.

[57] P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, p. 92 and pl. 70.—G.-W. I, text fig. 15.

[58] G.-W. I, p. 37 and pl. XX, no. 33c.

[59] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, II, p. 26 and pl. VII, no. 20b. Cf. also nos. 21b, 22a, 23b, 24d.

[60] The same figure occurs also on the lid of the casket in Florence (fig. 204), though disassociated from the centaur.

[61] Mozley, II, p. 593.

thrower. Apparently here are once again two successive phases of an episode rather than a variation of the same theme.

Since the text upon which Statius is based is not known, we can describe the source from which the ivory carvers copied three scenes of Achilles' boyhood only very generally as a Hellenistic *Achilleis*.

4. *A Battle Scene from the Iliad*

From a miniature in Pseudo-Oppian in which Achilles is warned by his horse Xanthus before entering the battle (fig. 103), we know that an illustrated Iliad was among the models available to artists of the Middle Byzantine period. There are a number of battle scenes and figures of single fighters distributed over the ivories which ultimately may go back to the same source, although, because of the conventionality of the warrior types, it is almost impossible to link them with specific events. There is only one plaque on the lid of a casket in the Musée de Cluny (fig. 212)[62] where, in our opinion, at least a good case can be made for an illustration from the Iliad. The text of the corpus describes this scene briefly as a chariot race, associating it with the plaque in Madrid (fig. 167). However, the fact that the warriors on the chariots fight each other rules out the interpretation as a race. It is a battle where one warrior has turned to flight while the other, aided by a charioteer, pursues him.

Among the Megarian bowls of the third and second centuries B.C., illustrating various episodes of Homeric poems in close adherence to the text, there is one from Tanagra (fig. 213 a-c) with a battle scene from Book XI which has a bearing on the interpretation of the ivory.[63] Particularly the pursuing chariot at the right, with a warrior throwing a lance and protecting himself with a shield, and with a charioteer bending forward and speeding the horses with a whip, resembles in more than one detail the corresponding one in the Cluny casket. Robert interpreted the pursuing warrior of the bowl as Hector with his charioteer, Cebriones, the fleeing warrior on the left-hand chariot, who looks backward and stretches out both arms, as the wounded Agamemnon, and finally the couple on the chariot in the center as Odysseus and Menelaus, with Ajax, the son of Telamon, running beside them. Neither of the fleeing chariots agrees with the left-hand one in the ivory, in which the retreating hero is defending himself. If we accept the interpretation of the pursuers in the ivory as Hector and Cebriones, the pursued must be someone else than Agamemnon or Odysseus or Menelaus. The most reasonable assumption is that this is another episode from the same book of the Iliad. The only hero in Book XI who throws a lance in his defense against Hector is Diomedes (verses 349ff.): "He spake, and poised his far-shadowing spear,

[62] G.-W. I, p. 39 and pl. XXIII, no. 41a.

[63] C. Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 21, fig. c.

and hurled it, nor missed he the mark at which he aimed, but smote him on the head, on the top of the helmet, but the bronze was turned aside by bronze, and reached not his fair flesh, for it was stayed by the threefold crested helm, which Phoebus Apollo had bestowed upon him."[64] Thus it seems very probable indeed that the ivory illustrates the retreat of Diomedes before the onrushing Hector.

In that case the ivory would represent an event which in time falls between the two episodes of the Megarian bowl, since the flight of Agamemnon is told earlier (XI, 264-283) and the escape of Menelaus later (XI, 411-488). Robert conceived the three chariots as a pictorial unit, though admitting the lack of unity of time, since the two events are told about two hundred verses apart. But if the Megarian bowl and the Byzantine ivory are indeed to be derived from the same model, Hector's fight with Diomedes would have to be placed between the two events of the bowl. In this case the frieze of the latter would be explained as a conflation of two separate scenes which originally did not follow each other immediately. Besides, the flight of Agamemnon is in itself the abbreviation of a fuller scene, since according to the text he is pursued not by Hector, as the relief makes the spectator believe, but by Coon, the son of Antenor, and therefore the archetype had in all probability a chariot with the pursuing Coon behind the fleeing Agamemnon. The conflation in the Megarian bowl was obviously necessitated by the lack of space.

If the interpretation of the ivory is correct, it would be an important addition to our knowledge of the illustration of Book XI of the Iliad and an aid to clarifying the interpretation of the Megarian bowl. The other fighting groups of the ivory relief, consisting of battles between riders and foot soldiers and a group of riders making a sortie out of a city gate, are in all probability not Homeric illustrations. It is typical for the ivory carver to collect similar subjects from different sources in one frieze, just as he fills repeatedly a whole frieze with putti of all kinds.

5. *Illustrations from Euripidean Tragedies*

(a) THE IPHIGENIA AT AULIS

The ivory plaque of the Veroli casket (fig. 214),[65] representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia, has been of special interest to archaeologists for several reasons: (1) the scene is one of the very few coherent ones on a rosette casket; (2) most of its figures are fairly exact copies of a classical model; (3) it involves an interesting textual problem concerning the restoration of the end of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which, as generally realized, is not preserved

[64] Ed. A. T. Murray (Loeb Classical Library), I, p. 507.

[65] G.-W. I, p. 31 and pl. IX, no. 21b.

in its original form; and (4) it—along with Pompeian frescoes and other classical monuments—has been thought, rightly or wrongly, to be a reflection of a famous picture of this subject by Timanthes recorded in literature. Since we have dealt with these problems at length elsewhere,[66] we need here only summarize.

In view of the habit of the ivory carvers to combine figures from different contexts, our first task is to determine which figures of the ivory frieze actually belong to the Sacrifice. In the center are three persons, forming a close group; they are Calchas approaching Iphigenia in order to cut a lock from her forehead, and a youth who gently leads the victim toward the priest. They are flanked by two youths who are obviously designed as counterparts since each rests one leg on a pedestal. The figure at the left occurs also on the marble ara (fig. 217), which we shall discuss later, and therefore is surely a part of the classical composition; and since the other is a pendant figure, he, too, is probably part of the original scene. There is a replica of the latter on the casket in the Louvre (fig. 216),[67] where he wears a wreath on his head like the other participants of the sacrifice—additional evidence that he belongs to the Iphigenia scene.[68] Moreover, he raises his right hand in a pensive gesture and watches intently what takes place in front of him. The seated figure at the extreme right in the Veroli casket represents Hygeia feeding a serpent, and the pendant figure at the left, Asclepius, as can be verified by comparison with a replica on the casket in Cividale,[69] where a tripod with a serpent stands in front of him. Neither corner figure has anything to do with the sacrifice scene and must be regarded as mere decorative filling, so that only the five figures in the center are part of the Euripidean composition.

That an illustrated Euripides manuscript was available in the tenth century we have demonstrated already in the case of the Jealousy miniature in Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 159). The ivory carver most likely had access to the same source. Most of the scenes in the Pseudo-Oppian picture were from lost plays, but for the ivory, since the *Iphigenia at Aulis* has been preserved, the precise interpretation should be much easier. Yet, the particular difficulty, as all philologists agree, is that this last drama, which Euripides wrote before he died in 406 B.C., was left unfinished and that the ending we have is not from his pen. We cannot even be sure that the epilogue in its present form

[66] Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 197ff.

[67] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XII, no. 26f.

[68] Because of the wreath the identification as Alexander, which the writer had proposed in the text of the corpus on the basis of similarities with the Alexander statue in Munich (*op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 11) has to be abandoned.

[69] G.-W. I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27a. The identification as Asclepius seems to us now preferable to that of a philosopher as proposed in the text of the corpus.

reflects the intentions of Euripides. His writing stops, as generally agreed, with verse 1531, but the report of the messenger which follows is itself not of one piece.[70] After verse 1578 there is another break, and whereas the first part of the epilogue was written probably by Euripides the Younger for the performance of the play one year after the death of the elder Euripides, the second half is attributed today to a humanist of the Middle Byzantine period. Since the ivory relief goes back to a classical model, it illustrates in all probability the full epilogue of the younger Euripides. From the present text, therefore, only verses 1531 to 1577 can be used for the interpretation of the relief, while the verses after 1578 cannot be regarded as reliable. Consequently, wherever the relief disagrees with the second part of the epilogue it must be considered a better witness than the "Byzantine part" of the text.

In the original part, i.e. up to verse 1578, two phases of the epilogue are told. In the first Iphigenia, reaching the grove, meets her father, who turns his head to hide his grief while she tries to console him. The second phase narrates the preparation of the sacrifice proper. After Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon, has proclaimed silence, the seer Calchas lays down the knife in a golden basket and crowns the victim's head while Achilles takes the basket and the lustral bowl for the libation. While performing this rite he speaks a few lines; then follows the last verse of the original, according to which the sons of Atreus and all the host stood by with their eyes fixed on the ground. This implies that Agamemnon is at that moment no longer standing aside but that he has regained control of himself and is now standing, together with his brother Menelaus, in the crowd attending the ceremony of the sacrifice. The ivory relief obviously has to do with this second phase, i.e. the preparation of the sacrifice, although it does not represent the crowning of Iphigenia as described in the epilogue but the *κατάρχεσθαι*, i.e. the consecration for the sacrifice by cutting off a lock from the forehead. This act most naturally follows the crowning with the wreath, and so we may assume that the cutting of the lock was told in the original messenger report immediately following the break in the manuscript.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of Iphigenia on the ivory, where she stands quietly in the center resigned to her fate. Her garment has slipped from her left shoulder, the right hand is raised in a pensive gesture and with the left she holds the end of the peplos, while the half-nude Calchas approaches her with the raised knife. The figure next to him can, in our opinion, be none other than Achilles, illustrating verses 1568ff.:

[70] Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, VII, 1, 3, Munich 1940, pp. 651ff. (here the older bibliography concerning this controversy is quoted).

Then Peleus' son took maund and lustral bowl,
And round the altar of the Goddess ran
And cried . . . .[71]

Half naked, like Calchas, he holds the κανοῦν, i.e. the basket of barley. His right hand should hold the lustral bowl, the χέρνιβες, as in the ara (fig. 217), and his foot rests on an altar-like pedestal instead of a rock. If this interpretation is correct then the figure leading Iphigenia to Calchas cannot be Achilles, as some archaeologists have proposed. Yet this figure plays too prominent a role to remain anonymous. Uhden supposed him to be Talthybius,[72] and we are inclined to agree. Yet we are aware of certain objections to this identification, for although Talthybius is surely qualified for this particular task, he should by rights hold the kerykeion and be fully draped.

The epilogue, before the second break in the text, mentions the sons of Atreus as present, and since Agamemnon would be expected to be deeply veiled, the fifth figure in the ivory may therefore be Menelaus, for whom the intent gaze seems indeed to be appropriate since he more than any other Achaean was interested in the sacrifice so that the voyage to Troy might continue. Once more there is an iconographical difficulty in that the figure is beardless, which Menelaus surely would not be. But this discrepancy, too, can be explained by the habit of the ivory carvers to omit the beards, as they did repeatedly in the case of Heracles and even of Zeus.[73]

We can be comparatively sure about the details in the ivory because of its close similarity with the Neo-Attic marble altar in the Uffizi in Florence (fig. 217)[74] which, although the inscription "Cleomenes" is considered to be faked, is still generally known as the Ara of Cleomenes. There can be no doubt that the marble ara and the ivory plaque go back to the same archetype, which we believe to be a miniature. In this case the marble relief, like the ivory, would have to be judged as an excerpt from a narrative cycle, and, from the formal point of view, we would have to assume a considerable enlargement in scale compared with the miniature model.

In some details the ara seems to reflect the archetype better than the ivory, in others not. Iphigenia's attitude and gestures are more dignified and there-

[71] This and the following quotations are taken from A. S. Way's translation in the Loeb Classical Library.

[72] W. Uhden, *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Abhandl. der Preuss. Akad. Hist.-Philol. Klasse, 1812-13), Berlin 1816, p. 78.

[73] G.-W. I., pl. XII, no. 26f.

[74] Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. inédits*, I, 1833, pp. 131ff. and pl. XXVI, no. 1.—O. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, Berlin 1847, p. 380.—A. Michaelis, "Ein verlorenes attisches Relief," *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, fig. p. 201.—W. Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX, 1905, p. 306 and fig. 3.—M. Madd. Michela, "Il Sacrifizio di Ifigenia," *Ausonia*, IV, 1909, p. 100.—W. Uhden, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.—E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, II, p. 697 and III, fig. 638.—E. Löwy, "Der Schluss der Iphigenie in Aulis," *Jahresh. d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, XXIV, 1929, pl. I and figs. 2, 10-13.

fore closer to the classical model. The sheath hanging on a balteus around the shoulder of Calchas is in agreement with the text, which states explicitly (verses 1566-1567) that he had drawn the sacrificial knife out of its sheath. On the other hand, in the ivory the sword held by the so-called "Talthybius" may either have been taken over from the archetype or be the one transferred from Calchas, since it is not likely that the ivory carver invented this attribute. Achilles is more faithfully rendered in the ivory, for there he holds a real basket with barley, while in the ara his attributes are more complete for he holds in addition a lustral bowl in the right hand.

The ara omits Menelaus, probably for lack of space, but it includes Agamemnon, deeply veiled and turning away, who is missing in the ivory. This attitude of grief is in full agreement with verses 1547-1550:

> . . . But when King Agamemnon saw
> The maid for slaughter entering the grove,
> He heaved a groan, he turned his head away
> Weeping, and drew his robe before his eyes.

This veiled Agamemnon actually belongs to the first phase of the epilogue, preceding the preparation of the sacrifice, and in an illustrated manuscript he quite surely would have appeared in a preceding miniature, addressed by Iphigenia as he turns away from her. In order to avoid a duplication of the heroine on the limited space of the ara, Iphigenia was not repeated. So we are dealing with two consecutive scenes both of which are abbreviated.

The identical type of Iphigenia, as seen in the ara and the ivory, occurs once more in another context on a relief frieze which was found in Termessos in Pisidia and dated by Studniczka in the late Hellenistic period (fig. 218).[75] Here Iphigenia is faced by Artemis, who has suddenly appeared with a hind which puts its forelegs upon an altar decorated with festoons. This is the scene we expect to follow the preparation of the sacrifice and thus can be considered as the third and probably last illustration of the epilogue. According to the excavators there are traces of a male figure visible behind Iphigenia, probably Calchas once more. This very same group of Artemis with the hind—only in mirror reversal—is represented on the same Louvre casket (fig. 215)[76] as the replica of Menelaus. Obviously more than one scene from the *Iphigenia* was copied by the ivory carvers, which supports our contention that they used a cyclic illustration as model.

Moreover, the scene of the Termessos relief is itself only a part of a narrative cycle. A second slab depicts Iphigenia's declaration to her mother

[75] G. Niemann, E. Petersen, K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, Vienna 1892, pp. 45f. and fig. 5.—F. Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie* (Abhandl. der Sächs. Akad. Philol.-Histor. Klasse, XXXVII, no. V), Leipzig 1926, p. 46 and fig. 30.—Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 6.

[76] G.-W. I, pl. XII, no. 26g.

(verses 1374ff.) in the presence of Achilles, who stands behind Clytaemnestra, that she has decided to sacrifice herself for the glory of Hellas. Furthermore, it has been observed by the excavators that the two slabs were not joined together, that therefore one or probably even more scenes must have existed in between, and that we clearly deal with illustrations to Euripides in cyclic form.

The same dialogue between Iphigenia and Clytaemnestra is represented once more on a Megarian bowl,[77] though an earlier phase of it where Achilles has just entered the stage and Iphigenia feels that she cannot endure to face him (verses 1338-1341). That the Megarian bowl with its five scenes goes indeed back to the Euripidean play is assured by the inscription ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ, and since we possess another bowl, now in New York,[78] which illustrates the very beginning of the drama in again five scenes, we are able to reconstruct, at least to a large extent, the basic miniature cycle on which the Megarian bowls, the reliefs of Termessos, the Cleomenes ara, and the Byzantine ivories depend.

If this is correct, then every attempt to relate the monuments just cited to the famous picture by Timanthes should be abandoned, because the Timanthes picture was a monoscenic panel painting belonging to a different category, artistically speaking, than a narrative cycle of miniatures. Moreover, the descriptions of this famous picture by Pliny, Quintilian, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Eustathius,[79] clearly show discrepancies from the group of monuments discussed above, so that on this ground alone the dependence of the latter on the Timanthes picture becomes more than problematical. Actually a different phase of the story seems to have been represented in the Timanthes picture, namely the moment of the sacrifice itself, whereas the ivory and the Cleomenes Ara represent the preparation.[80]

(b) THE HIPPOLYTUS CROWNED

The sacrifice of Iphigenia is the only complete scene from a Euripidean drama on a rosette casket. In the much more frequent cases where the scenes are broken up by the ivory carvers and the single figures dispersed, it is, of course, difficult, and in many cases impossible, to determine the original context from which they were drawn. Only where the gestures and postures are

[77] C. Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 51 and fig. L.—F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris 1922, p. 293, no. 19 and fig. 53.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 44-45 and fig. 10.

[78] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 45 and figs. 9a-e.

[79] J. Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, Leipzig 1868, pp. 328f., nos. 1734-1739.—A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet*, I, Paris 1921, pp. 244f., nos. 305-309.

[80] For fuller details of the reconstruction of the narrative Iphigenia cycle and also of the Timanthes problem, cf. the author's article in *Hesperia*.

sufficiently characteristic can we hope to make identifications with some degree of certainty.[81]

A plaque in the museum at Liverpool (fig. 219)[82] shows a nude hero with a chlamys thrown over his left shoulder, leaning on his lance and thrusting forward his right arm in a vivid gesture of speech. He is associated with a seated lyre player, with whom he has no iconographical connection. This type of speaking hero is so similar to that of Hippolytus on a number of Roman sarcophagi, e.g. the one of the Lateran (fig. 222)[83] where he addresses Phaedra and rejects her love proposal, that he can be identified as the same hero from the same scene. Robert has clearly demonstrated[84] that the literary source for the whole group of Hippolytus sarcophagi is none other than the Ἱππόλυτος δεύτερος ἢ στεφανίας of Euripides, and consequently our ivory, too, can be considered as an illustration of the passage in which Hippolytus, in a very excited state, vigorously repudiates Phaedra with the words (verses 601f.):

> O mother Earth, unveilings of the sun,
> What words unutterable have I heard
> . . .
> I have heard horrors—should I hold my peace?

Knowing thus for sure that an illustrated *Hippolytus* was available to the ivory carvers, we may look for more figures from this drama in their repertory. A plaque in Dresden (fig. 220; cf. also fig. 206)[85] represents once more a nude hero with the chlamys thrown over the shoulder and holding a spear, who turns around and looks at a statuette or idol standing on a rock. A figure of a very similar type with the same contrappostic stance and holding the lance in a similar fashion occurs on another Hippolytus sarcophagus in the Musée des Antiquités at Istanbul (fig. 223),[86] and on this basis the ivory figure may once more be called Hippolytus. On the sarcophagus he is moving to the right, leaving the stage for the hunt after having repudiated Phaedra for her vicious love and casting a last embittered glance at her. It is the scene which immediately follows the repudiation, and now Hippolytus tells Phaedra that he is going to leave her (verse 659):

[81] This paragraph on the *Hippolytus Crowned* and the following one on the *Stheneboea* are not much changed from the author's article in *Hesperia*.

[82] G.-W. I, p. 35 and pl. XV, no. 30e.

[83] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, 1904, pl. LII, no. 167.

[84] *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[85] G.-W. I, p. 29 and pl. VII, no. 18. Here, as we believe now, incorrectly explained as Meleager on the basis of some similarity with the famous statue of Scopas.

[86] H. Lechat, "Deux sarcophages du Musée de Constantinople," *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIII, 1889, p. 319 and pl. IV.—Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, no. 151.

Now from mine home, while Theseus yet is far,
I go, and I will keep my lips from speech.

The text of the play makes it quite clear that there were two statues of goddesses visible on the stage, one of Artemis, to whom Hippolytus offers a wreath (verses 73f.), and the other of Aphrodite, to which Hippolytus' old servant points (verse 101):

Even Cyprus, there above thy portal set.

It is difficult to decide which one is represented in the ivory, since the carver apparently no longer understood the proper meaning of the statuette. In spite of its nakedness, which can be attributed to an alteration of the ivory carver, we believe it to be Artemis for reasons which will become clear in describing the following plaque.

The same statuette with the wreath in its hand is represented in another plaque, likewise in Dresden (fig. 221),[87] which undoubtedly belonged to the same casket, and so we are justified in assuming that this, too, is a scene from the same Euripidean play. Hippolytus, as we might once more call the naked hero with the chlamys thrown over the shoulder and the inevitable lance, leans with his left hand upon the pedestal of the statuette. This gesture is meaningless and must be considered a mistake by the ivory carver, made, probably, because he was forced by the narrowness of the plaque to condense the model. An extended hand in front of a statue can mean only that the hero offers a sacrifice. It will be observed that the pedestal is much too wide for the statuette and so it seems to us that the massive structure may be a fusion of an altar with the pillar on which the goddess stands. Moreover, the scene in the ivory must be in mirror reversal—not unusual in the process of copying—since an offering is naturally deposited with the right hand. The left leg of Hippolytus is lifted so that the figure makes a curious jumpy impression, not quite proper in the present situation. Here we have once more to take into account the carver's inclination to give to his figures a more putto-like appearance; in a replica, a silver relief made after an ivory, on a casket in Anagni (fig. 225),[88] the posture is more natural, with both feet touching the ground. Though better in this detail the silver relief also shows the same fusion of altar and pedestal.

A sacrifice is offered by Hippolytus to Artemis, and the gift is a wreath according to verses 73f.:

For thee this woven garland from a mead
Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.

So the statuette—and this applies also to the figure in the other plaque (fig.

[87] G.-W. I, p. 29 and pl. VII, no. 17.

[88] G.-W. II, p. 85 and pl. LXXIX, no. 242g.

220)—can only represent Artemis, in spite of its nudity, with which, consequently, the ivory carver must be accredited. Yet it is doubtful whether the classical model depicted a wreath in Artemis' hand, since according to the text we would expect it to be placed upon the altar, and so we must again reckon with the possibility of a mistake by the carver. On Roman sarcophagi the sacrifice of Hippolytus occurs twice, in each case on a lateral side. On a sarcophagus in the Lateran, the same which contains the speaking Hippolytus (fig. 222), the hero approaches the goddess in the company of another hunter instead of a servant as the text of the drama suggests (fig. 224).[89] Moreover, Hippolytus does not offer a wreath, but holds a lustral bowl out of which he pours a libation upon an altar. This altar and the pedestal of the statue stand so close together that their fusion into one structure in the ivory becomes quite understandable. In the second example, a sarcophagus in Florence (fig. 226),[90] the libation is once more substituted for the offering of the wreath, and this deviation from the text may well be explained, as Robert suggested, by the artist's desire to depict a more conventional and more generally understood form of sacrifice instead of the specific one described in the drama. Thus the ivory, though its subject matter was no longer understood by the carver, has preserved a feature of a more literal illustration. In the Florence sarcophagus the statuette stands on a rock instead of a pedestal, but it is difficult to say which of the two is the more original form. We have seen that in the first Dresden plaque (fig. 220) the statuette likewise stands on a rock, so that within the ivories we find the same two different forms. Hippolytus holds a lance in the Florentine relief without leaning upon it, as he does in the Lateran sarcophagus, and in this is more like the figure on the ivory, though he holds the lance in the other direction. However, the posture is not quite the same and it seems very likely that the sculptors of both sarcophagi copied a libation out of another context and that only the ivory figure gives a true reflection of the Euripidean archetype.

Altogether we have no less than three different types of Hippolytus among the ivories and each from a scene which can be identified on the basis of the sarcophagi, most of which, as Robert has demonstrated, are based on dramas of Euripides illustrated in cyclic fashion.

(c) THE STHENEBOEA (?)

To the left, on the same side of the Veroli casket as the sacrifice of Iphigenia, there is, among heterogeneous elements, a scene easily identified as Bellerophon with Pegasus (fig. 227).[91] The winged horse is eagerly drinking

[89] Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, no. 167a.

[90] Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, no. 171a.

[91] G.-W. I, p. 30 and pl. IX, no. 21b.—Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, cols. 341-342 and fig. 1.—A replica of this group on a casket formerly in Vienna (G.-W. I, pl. XV, no. 28d) is rough in style, but more precise in the indication of the water of the fountain.

from the Peirene Fountain,[92] and the young hero, nude save for a mantle thrown over the left shoulder, holds a lance in the left hand and in the right the golden reins given to him by Athena for the taming of the horse—an episode told in Strabo and other sources.[93]

Bellerophon and the drinking Pegasus occur on a child's sarcophagus in Athens which comes from Lycia (fig. 228).[94] In spite of small differences in the position of the legs and of the arm holding the reins the composition of these two monuments are so similar that the assumption of a common archetype seems thoroughly justified. Important for our concern with cyclic connections is the fact that, on the same side of the sarcophagus, at the left, is another scene, which depicts a different episode of the Bellerophon story although the hero himself is not present. We see a noblewoman seated on a chair and engaged in dispute with a bearded man standing in front of her, holding in his right hand a tablet, the key to the explanation of the scene. The woman is Stheneboea, who has fallen in love with Bellerophon and who, after being repudiated by the chaste youth, calumniates him before her husband Proetus, with whom the bearded man is to be identified. Thereupon Proetus decides to rid himself of the young hero and sends him to Iobates with a fateful letter, the one he here holds in his hand.

Such a discourse between the vicious wife and her angered husband took place in the *Stheneboea* of Euripides,[95] and since its representation is a pendant to the Pegasus scene, it is at least possible that both come from the same literary source, and that therefore the latter may be derived from the same Euripidean play. Wilamowitz has pointed out that the winged horse was actually brought on the stage in this play,[96] although surely not in the scene which has to do with the capture of the horse at the Peirene Fountain. Yet it seems quite probable that before the horse appeared on the stage—probably in the second part of the drama, when Bellerophon returns from his exploit of killing the Chimera—the spectator had been informed, perhaps by the chorus, about the capture of the famous horse. We have ample evidence that in the cyclic illustration of a drama scenes were illustrated which were not

[92] The woman in front of Pegasus has sometimes been identified as the nymph Peirene, but in the above-cited replica, where she stands at the left of Bellerophon, she clearly shows in her hand a torch, which, if this attribute really was in the classical archetype, would of course exclude the interpretation of its bearer as a nymph.

[93] A. Rapp, in Roscher, *M.L.*, *s.v.* Bellerophon, cols. 760f.

[94] Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, II, p. 146 and pl. L, no. 138.—C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, v, pt. I: *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, Princeton 1924, p. 24 *passim* and fig. 72.—Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, cols. 341-342, fig. 3.

[95] Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 390ff.

[96] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "De Euripidis Stheneboea," *Class. Phil.*, III, 1908, p. 229.—A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, in: J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd ser., 1933, p. 135.

shown on the stage but only told by a messenger or the chorus—the sacrifice of Iphigenia is a typical example—so that an illustration of the capture of Pegasus would by no means be strange in the picture cycle of a drama which merely narrated this episode.

If the sarcophagus were of the normal frieze-type in which one mythological theme is developed in several phases, we might be quite sure about our supposed relationship between the two scenes. But unfortunately this sarcophagus contains a mixture of very heterogeneous themes such as a fight between a centaur and a lapith, a drunken Heracles supported by Pan and a satyr, the capture of the palladium, and the erection of a tropaeum. The front side is the only one which shows any semblance of a coherent program, since even the figure of Aphrodite writing on a shield can be related to the Bellerophon story, especially the scene of Pegasus at the Peirene Fountain, because of Aphrodite's importance as the protective goddess of Corinth. Yet, considering the lack of a program for the sarcophagus as a whole, it is still possible that of the two scenes of the front side, only the discourse of Stheneboea with Proetus goes back to the Euripidean *Stheneboea* and that Bellerophon with Pegasus was taken over from another illustrated text, and we must admit that our proposal of a common origin remains in the realm of hypothesis.

This brings to an end our list of ivory types which can be related with varying degrees of accuracy to Euripidean plays. It is quite possible that among the considerable variety of types more figures from illustrations of dramas are hidden, some of which may be detected in the future.

6. *A Dionysian Cycle*

In several miniatures of the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript we met figures from the entourage of Dionysus such as Maenads, Satyrs, and Ariadne (transformed into Rhea) on a cart (figs. 114, 123, 150, 153, 157), all of which we derived from a cyclic illustration of the life of Dionysus. This cycle was unquestionably also accessible to the ivory carvers, since on the caskets the same types of Maenads are found and the same lion cart, only this time occupied by Dionysus himself (figs. 155-156). The source, as already pointed out, was in all probability a lost Hellenistic poem of the adventures of Dionysus. Today only the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis from the fifth century A.D., inflated as they are by the numerous insertions of often unconnected myths, give at least some idea of an epic poem on this subject. Perhaps if we knew more than merely the titles of the poems of Dionysius and Soterichus from the second or third centuries A.D., we might be closer to the assumed Hellenistic source. But with the basic text gone, we can do no more than describe certain ivory figures that belong to the Dionysian cycle accord-

ing to groups of types rather than by scenic connections, since the latter can in most cases no longer be determined. Moreover, no attempt is made at completeness because some of the figures, e.g. the Maenads, vary among each other only slightly in attributes and attitudes.

Dionysus on the lion cart, seen on the Venetian plaque already described in detail (p. 129 and fig. 155), occurs a second time, nearly identically, on the Veroli casket in London (fig. 229).[97] Moreover, on the same casket are a number of figures from Dionysus' entourage. The right half of the lid depicts a couple of centaurs, one playing a transverse flute, the other a syrinx, and three dancing Maenads in various positions (fig. 232).[98] Altogether they form a part of the thiasus, and a comparison with some Roman sarcophagi in the Vatican, e.g.,[99] suggests that they were copied in their original context. The two centaurs drawing the cart of Dionysus on the sarcophagi are isolated on the ivory but in the latter they may be derived from a model where they had the same function; a putto rides on the shoulder of one of them while in the sarcophagi a putto stands on the centaur's back; and the three Maenads are dancing as a separate group while on the sarcophagi they are intermingled with satyrs. In the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus the god of the wine is frequently mentioned as riding on a cart and being surrounded by his usual entourage. In an epic poem, illustrated with an extensive miniature cycle, the thiasus was very likely depicted in varying combinations. This seems to be reflected in the ivories where the number of different types of dancing Maenads seems to be greater than any single miniature of the thiasus could hold. There are, besides those of the Veroli casket, others who dance with inflated veils over their heads, or hold cymbals and crotola, nude or clothed, and in various positions, or are swinging torches, accompanied by the tones of a syrinx (figs. 230-231).[100]

A second group shows the Dionysian throng at leisure or feasting. In the Louvre casket Dionysus himself, with a wreath in his hair and the thyrsus leaning against his shoulder (fig. 233),[101] sits comfortably on what looks like a pile of bricks but was meant in the model to be a rock, and he turns his head around, originally surely not at Artemis as he does now (fig. 215), but at Maenads and Satyrs. On a casket in Palermo a Satyr with a fawn skin, the nebris, approaches on tiptoe a crater and has just filled a cup with the much desired liquid (fig. 237).[102] Another Satyr on a casket in New York (fig.

[97] G.-W. I, p. 31 and pl. X, no. 21e.

[98] G.-W. I, p. 30 and pl. IX, no. 21a.

[99] W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II, Berlin 1908, p. 209, no. 76; p. 334, no. 120 and pls. 7 and 32.

[100] G.-W. I, p. 34 and pl. XIV, no. 27e; p. 35 and pl. XV, no. 28b. For similar types cf. pl. XIII, no. 27b (second plaque from left); pl. XVII, no. 31b (third plaque from left), etc.

[101] G.-W. I, p. 33 and pl. XII, no. 26g.

[102] G.-W. I, p. 40 and pl. XXIV, no. 43b.

236)[103] holds in one hand a grape and in the other what looks like a globe but apparently is a misunderstood cup.[104] These types are common throughout classical art, for which the monument of Lysicrates in Athens might be quoted as one parallel among many others (fig. 234-235).[105] Once more, these Satyrs are not specific enough to be connected with particular episodes in the life of Dionysus.

Of Dionysus' love adventures, which in Nonnus' poem alternate with the Indian battles, only one is preserved among the ivories and even this is incomplete. On the top of the lid of the lost octagonal casket, preserved only in a Renaissance drawing made while it belonged to the Neue Stift in Halle (cf. p. 163 and fig. 202), the deserted Ariadne at Naxos is depicted asleep under a tree (fig. 238).[106] Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca* (XLVII, 265-273) describes this episode in the following words: "Now Bacchus left the honey-flowing streams of Ilissos, and went in dainty revel to the vine clad district of Naxos. About him bold Eros beat his wings, and Cythereia led, before the coming of Lyaios the bridegroom. For Theseus had just sailed away, and left without pity the banished maiden asleep on the shore, scattering his promises to the winds. When Dionysos beheld deserted Ariadne sleeping, he mingled love with wonder. . . ."[107]

Both events, the departure of the deserting Theseus and the arrival of the passionately loving Dionysus are the subject of Pompeian frescoes in which the deserted Ariadne is depicted in a great variety of poses.[108] But since the same type of Ariadne is used for both events and is therefore interchangeable, we cannot be certain whether in the model of the lost ivory Theseus or Dionysus occupied the place where now two putti, who do not belong to the original composition, enjoy themselves, one playing a mediaeval lute and the other holding a horn in his raised hand. Ariadne's pose may be compared to that on a mutilated and now lost mosaic from Avenches (fig. 239)[109] where she is approached by Dionysus. Moreover, in the drawing after the ivory a woman stands behind Ariadne holding in her right hand what looks like a branch. She seems to belong to the original composition since in the Pompeian frescoes there is frequently a figure close to Ariadne, sometimes a woman,

[103] G.-W. I, p. 27 and pl. VI, no. 12b.

[104] A slightly different Satyr type with a grape in his hand may be seen on a plaque in the Museo del Castello in Milan, G.-W. I, p. 26 and pl. III, no. 8a.

[105] Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der griech. und röm. Sculptur*, pl. 488.—A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pt. III, vol. I, London 1892, pp. 248ff.—H. F. de Cou, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 42ff. and pls. II-III.

[106] G.-W. II, p. 84 and pl. LXXVIII, no. 240.

[107] Ed. W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb Classical Library), vol. III, 1942, p. 391.

[108] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, Paris 1922, pp. 111-113.

[109] C. Bursian, "Aventicum Helveticum," *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, XVI, 1867-70, pl. 32.

sometimes a male and usually winged, for whom different explanations have been proposed.[110] Most probably the woman in the drawing is to be derived from some such companion.

The central theme of Nonnus' poem is the battle in India. In Book XIII, before the long list of tribes which took part as auxiliaries on Dionysus' side, Nonnus mentions the close followers of the god (verses 43ff.): "But the heroic breed of farscattered champions, the hairy Satyrs, the blood of the Centaur tribe, the bushyknee ancient and his phalanx of Seilenoi, the regiment of Bassarids—do you sing me these, O Corybantic Muses!"[111] And later, in Book XIV (verses 67ff.) they are described more explicitly. Some of these fighters appear on plaques of the ivory caskets, but in most cases isolated and out of context. On the casket in Florence (fig. 240)[112] we see a rearing centaur defending himself with a shield, and on a plaque in Liverpool (fig. 241)[113] another who swings a sword aggressively over his head and at the same time defends himself with a shield. A fighting bearded warrior on a casket in New York (fig. 242)[114] may be identified as Pan because of the horns over his forehead, and a fat, bald-headed man on the same side of the casket (fig. 243) is obviously Silenus.[115] Even while attacking with a lance he walks as if exhilarated by wine, and the raising of his mantle, hardly for the purpose of defense, agrees with the notion that Silenus is invulnerable. A warrior with sword and shield from the opposite side of the casket (fig. 244),[116] likewise bald-headed and similarly draped, seems to be another Dionysian fighter of the same category. A Roman sarcophagus in the cathedral of Cortona (fig. 245)[117] contains more or less all the types we described above in their original context: at the left two centaurs draw the chariot of Dionysus and at the same time fight with lance, shield, and bow against the Indians. In the very center Pan, bearded and horned and with his sword raised, faces the spectator rather than the Indians, and in the right half the chief aggressor is bald-headed Silenus. Though in this case he defends himself with a shield, the same sarcophagus depicts on each short side a Satyr fighting against an

[110] Helbig (*Wandgemälde*, nos. 1227-1240) calls the female Nemesis, while Herrmann (*Denkmäler der Malerei*, p. 51 and pl. 40; p. 156 and pl. 114) names the male Hypnos, and others prefer to leave the figures unnamed.

[111] Rouse, vol. I, p. 431.

[112] G.-W. I, p. 38 and pl. XX, no. 33c.

[113] G.-W. I, p. 36 and pl. XV, no. 30f.

[114] G.-W. I, pp. 27-28 and pl. VI, no. 12b.

[115] The identification in the text of the corpus (p. 28) as an actor of a comedy is not so likely since he shows no sign of a mask.

[116] G.-W. I, pl. VI, no. 12c.

[117] E. Gerhard, *Arch. Ztg.*, III, 1845, p. 81 and pl. XXX. A list of sarcophagi illustrating the Indian fight is given by Botho Graef, *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa*, Berlin 1886.—H. Graeven, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XV, 1900, p. 216.

Indian and holding nothing but his drapery for his defense, thereby indicating his invulnerability.[118] The Indians are rendered nude and without any characteristics. Some of them may have been copied, too, on the ivory caskets, though out of context they are no longer identifiable.

The makers of the rosette caskets share the preference for scenes from the Indian war with the ivory carvers of the late classic and Early Christian period. Graeven[119] was confronted with the same problem when he dealt with two pyxides in Vienna and Cologne,[119a] two ivory plaques on a book cover in St. Gall and related monuments from the third to the fifth centuries, all of which represent similar Dionysian fighters, Pan, Silenus, and Maenads involved in the combat against the Indians. Graeven, too, realized that these fighting scenes hark back to a literary source and he assumed, in the same manner as we did for the Byzantine ivories, a Hellenistic poem of the *Dionysiaca* as source. Naturally, scarce and often distorted as these representations are, we cannot even be sure whether the earlier and the later ivories go back to the same miniature recension, but we get at least the impression of a vast iconographical realm which suggests that the original illustration must have been quite widespread.

7. *Illustrations of Bucolic Poetry* (?)

The abduction of Europa is the main theme of a plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 246),[120] which is as delicately carved as it is close to the classical model whose flavor it has well preserved. Europa rides on the bull, holding the abductor's horn with one hand and an inflated veil with the other. The bull, before carrying off his victim, had been decorated by Europa's companions with a flower garland around his neck, and now he swims through the waves guided by an Eros with a torch, while two of the companions on the seashore run after their disappearing playmate, stretching out in vain their longing arms. The Eros with the torch is apparently a part of the ancient composition, since in a mosaic from Aquileia[121] a sea-bull carrying Europa on his back is guided by a similar torchbearer, though there he is flying and not swimming. So far the scene is coherent, but whether the second Eros, flying in the opposite direction with a wreath in his hand, belongs to the Europa scene or to the love group at the right, or whether he is one of the common filling motifs of the ivory carver is difficult to determine.

[118] Gerhard, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, nos. 2-3.

[119] H. Graeven, "Die Darstellungen der Inder in antiken Kunstwerken," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XV, 1900, pp. 195ff.—*Idem*, "Der Inderkampf des Dionysos auf Elfenbeinsculpturen," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, IV, 1901, pp. 126ff. [119a] The latter now in New York, Metrop. Mus.

[120] G.-W. I, p. 32 and pl. IX, no. 23.

[121] O. Jahn, *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* (Denkschr. der Wiener Akad. Philos.-Hist. Classe, XIX), 1870, pp. 52ff. and pl. X.

A replica of this scene, except that the torchbearing Eros is omitted, is part of the same frieze on the Veroli casket in which we have already seen the centaurs and Maenads (fig. 232). Moreover, the same casket contains on one of its long sides a second and different representation of the abduction of Europa (fig. 247).[122] Here she is represented nude and seen from the back, more reclining than sitting on the bull's back, over which she has spread out her garment, while the bull rides over the crest of the wave toward the left. The presence of two different types of Europa suggests that we are dealing with two phases of the Europa story and therefore with parts of a narrative cycle.

Both compositions of the abduction can be found in ancient art.[123] A fresco of the Tomb of the Nasonii (fig. 248)[124] from the Hadrianic period, which is today lost, depicts Europa on the bull in a posture quite similar to that of the single plaque in London (fig. 246). The differences are of a minor nature: in the lost fresco Europa is half nude, uses both hands to hold the inflated veil, and looks back to her companions, who run gesticulating to the shore. Yet, as far as these companions are concerned, a mosaic in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (fig. 249)[125] represents them as a group which in detail is much more closely related to the ivory. There they are running fast with arms thrust forward, and the wind blows into their garments just as in the ivory. At the same time the Europa of the mosaic agrees very much with the second ivory type, i.e. the one which shows her from the back (fig. 247). So in the light of the two ivories the mosaic appears now as a *pasticcio* which combined elements from two consecutive scenes of the same episode. In other words the women in the upper zone are taken from the first phase omitting the frontal Europa type, while the Europa in the lower zone goes back to the second phase where she is already out of sight of the companions.

If this is so, then we have to correct the opinions of Jahn and most scholars after him who explained the attitude of the running companions as a hurried flight. Later, Helbig had realized the connection between the upper and lower zones of the mosaic and assumed that the Europa of the lower zone was placed in the friezelike model alongside the companions. Such a model would be, however, unsatisfactory, because the bull would then carry Europa in the wrong direction, i.e. back to the companions. All these difficulties can be resolved by assuming—on the basis of the ivories—a conflation of originally

[122] G.-W. I, p. 30 and pl. IX, nos. 21a and c.

[123] Jahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-54 and pls. I-X.—Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Petersbourg*, 1866, pp. 79-127, 148-154; 1870-71, pp. 181-183.—Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* I (Zeus), Leipzig 1871, pp. 420ff.—Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, nos. 123-130.

[124] Bellori-Bartoli, *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum et sepulcri Nasonum*, pl. XVII.

[125] Jahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 7ff. and pl. II.—Overbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 454.—Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., II, 1913, pp. 395-396.

two separate scenes whereby one Europa type was dropped in order to avoid duplication. In a miniature cycle the two scenes were in all probability separated by lines of writing and not superimposed as in the mosaic, and in such an arrangement the repetition of Europa would be normal and not in the least disturbing.

In trying to determine the basic text for a narrative illustration of the Europa story the first to consult would naturally be a mythological handbook. But the statement of Apollodorus (III, I, 1), "Zeus loved her [i.e. Europa], and turning himself into a tame bull, he mounted her on his back and conveyed her through the sea,"[126] is obviously too brief to provide the basis for an elaborate pictorialization. In the *Dionysiaca* Nonnus tells the story in greater detail (I, 46ff. and 321ff.). Since as previously stated (p. 146 and 179) a Dionysian poem such as that of Nonnus likewise existed with illustrations, there is a chance that the Europa scenes may have been taken from this source. Without entirely discarding this possibility, it must nevertheless be pointed out that a characteristic feature in the ivories, namely the companions running to Europa's assistance, are not mentioned in Nonnus' poem.

Yet, there is a text which complies in all essential points with the representations in the ivories. This is the epyllion entitled Εὐρώπη of the bucolic poet Moschus of Syracuse, who lived in about the middle of the second century B.C. Here Europa's abduction under the eyes of her companions is told in the following words (verses 108-117): "So saying, she sat her down smiling upon his back; and the rest would have sate them likewise, but suddenly the bull, possessed of his desire, leapt up and made hot-foot for the sea. Then did the rapt Europa turn her about and stretch forth her hands and call upon her dear companions; but nay, they might not come at her, and the seashore reached, 'twas still forward, forward till he was faring over the wide waves with hooves as unharmed of the water as the fins of any dolphin."[127] This reads like an ekphrasis to the picture. Even details like the swelling veil over Europa's head and the grasping of the bull's horn are explicitly described (verses 125-130): "Meanwhile Europa, seated on the back of Zeus the Bull, held with one hand to his great horn and caught up with the other the long purple fold of her robe, lest trailing it should be wet in the untold waters of the hoar brine; and the robe went bosoming deep at the shoulder like the sail of a ship, and made that fair burden light indeed." Passages like these explain the first ivory scene (fig. 246) very well in its general spirit as well as in its iconographic details, although no mention is made of the guiding Eros with the torch. But he easily can be understood as

[126] Frazer, I, p. 299.

[127] J. M. Edmonds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (Loeb Classical Library), 1912, p. 437.

an addition of the artist who wanted to indicate visually that Europa is guided to her wedding.

The verses immediately following (131-134) explain very well the situation in the second ivory (fig. 247): "When she was now far from the land of her fathers, and could see neither wave-beat shore nor mountain-top, but only sky above and sea without end below, she gazed about her and lift up her voice. . . ." By depicting Europa from the back, the artist very likely wanted to indicate, in accordance with the text, that she had turned away from the seashore and her companions and now was far out on the open sea. So there is at least a good chance that Moschus' poem was the actual source for the miniature cycle reflected in the ivories.

8. *Reflections of the Alexander Romance*

Three scenes in the Pseudo-Oppian manuscript, it will be remembered, could be identified as illustrations of the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes (figs. 108-109). In view of the close relation between the Pseudo-Oppian and the ivories, it would hardly be surprising to find reflections of the Alexander Romance also in the latter. A casket in the Badia della S. Trinità in La Cava has on its top two panels (fig. 250)[128] which, as we now believe, were unsatisfactorily explained in the text of the corpus. The panel at the right was taken as a scene of sacrifice of incense before a thymiaterion, but for such a sacral act the seated position of the ministrant would be unexplainable; the panel at the left was thought to represent the meeting of Jacob and Joseph, but the peculiar dress and the headgear of both do not favor such an interpretation. Moreover, the figure at the right seems to be a woman. We now believe that both plaques depict important events of the Alexander story.

The Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes begins (I, 1) with the story of Nectanebus, the last king of the Egyptians, who excelled in magic power: "Because when the cloud of war suddenly drove against him, he did not trouble himself with an army or a procession of weapons or the sharpening of iron or with war-engines, but he went into his palace, took a copper dish and, after having it filled with rain water, he formed small ships from wax and manikins, put them into the dish and under magic spells and holding a staff of ebony he appealed to the priests and the god Ammon of Libya."[129] On the basis of this passage we believe the man of the right-hand ivory panel to be Nectanebus, sitting before the copper dish, which is shaped like a bowl upon a high stand. The rosette in the center of the bowl which gives it the appear-

[128] G.-W. I, pp. 24-25 and pl. II, no. 6a.

[129] A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig 1907, p. 30.—W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. I, Berlin 1926, p. 1.

ance of a so-called omphalos-bowl may be the result of the corruption of the ivory carver who no longer understood the meaning of the scene and in particular of the little ships, and therefore replaced them with a familiar ornament. With his right hand the man, if indeed he is Nectanebus, stirs the basin with a stick, i.e. the staff of ebony mentioned in the text. Of course, in the miniature model we would expect the Egyptian king to be bearded and crowned, but the alterations of the ivory carver in these respects need not be taken too seriously since they are the typical changes repeated again and again on the rosette caskets.

But the identification of our ivory figure as Nectanebus rests not only on textual but also on pictorial evidence. The illustrated manuscripts of the Alexander Romance begin their prolific cycle with the very scene described above. In the copy in the Bodleian Library in Oxford from the thirteenth century,[130] the earlier of the two Greek manuscripts with illustrations known today,[131] we see, as in the ivory, the Egyptian king in front of a metal bowl (fig. 251). This miniature, like all the others in this manuscript, is in poor condition and is also inferior in quality, an indication that it is the product of a provincial center, but it is nevertheless still quite clear that Nectanebus approaches a huge bowl seen in bird's-eye view and stirs it with his long staff of ebony. For a better picture of the details we may turn to an Armenian copy in San Lazzaro in Venice, cod. 424, from about the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (fig. 252),[132] which like all the other numerous copies in Armenian follows a Greek archetype of the same recension. Here Nectanebus is represented seated as in the ivory and in this respect in all probability closer to the archetype than the Oxford miniature. Moreover, he is bearded and crowned like an emperor—surely features of the archetype—and bends over the bowl, looking into it with the intensity of a crystal-gazer. In other respects the Armenian miniature is less reliable, for Nectanebus leans with his hands on the rim of the vessel instead of holding the required staff of ebony. In another Armenian manuscript in Vienna, in the Convent of the Mekhitarists, cod. 319, from the year 1694, there are even a few little ships clearly visible in the bowl.[133] This proves that even a manuscript as late as the seventeenth century cannot be neglected for the reconstruction of the pictorial archetype.

The other plaque of the La Cava casket can, in our opinion, be interpreted as the reconciliation of Alexander's parents which Pseudo-Callisthenes describes as follows (I, 22): ". . . he took his mother and brought her to Philip

[130] Cf. p. 104 and note 25.

[131] The fourteenth century manuscript in S. Giorgio dei Greci in Venice (p. 104 note 26) has a similar miniature on fol. 2^r.

[132] F. Macler, *L'Enluminure arménienne profane*, Paris 1928, pl. I, no. I.

[133] Macler, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, no. 90.

with the words 'Father—now I shall call you father because you listened to your son. Here is the mother who urged me very much not to make any mention of her failures. Embrace each other, for there is no shame in it because I was brought forth by you.' Thus speaking Alexander reconciled his parents and was therefore admired by all Macedonians."[134] If the ivory illustrates indeed this passage, then the bearded man at the left with the turban-like headgear would be Philip and the woman in the rich garment whom he embraces and kisses, Olympias. That such a scene belongs to the original cycle can once more be proved by the existing manuscripts. The above-mentioned codex in Vienna contains a miniature (fig. 253)[135] in which Philip and Olympias embrace each other in a similar manner, but, as in the previous scene, they are represented in mirror reversal. In addition, Alexander is present, as one would expect on the basis of the text, but mere lack of space apparently prevented the ivory carver from copying him too.

These are the only two scenes distinct enough to be interpreted at least with some degree of probability as specific episodes of the Alexander Romance. There is, of course, as always in the rosette caskets, a chance that simple figures, taken out of their context, are intermingled with those from other sources and can no longer be identified with reasonable certainty. There are, e.g., warriors in orientalized costumes[136] who would seem to fit into one or the other scene of the Alexander Romance. Perhaps after the two Greek manuscripts in Oxford and Venice are published in full, there will be an opportunity to identify more of the isolated figures on the caskets.

[134] Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 42.—Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[135] Macler, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, no. 100.

[136] G.-W. I, p. 27 and pl. VI, nos. 12d and e.

IV. EPILOGUE

A. THE CONTRIBUTION TO CLASSICAL BOOK ILLUMINATION

JANUS-FACED, our study has looked backward into the Greco-Roman and forward into the Middle Byzantine periods. For a better understanding of the character of the mythological miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts we had, of course, to try to trace the classical models on which the mediaeval copies are based. Unfortunately we soon had to realize that the direct models are all lost, models which, in our opinion, consisted of miniatures either in papyrus rolls or codices of either papyrus or parchment after this new book form had begun to replace the roll at the end of the first century A.D.[1] Such a loss is hardly surprising in view of the extremely few illustrated papyrus fragments or early codices which have survived.[2] Partly, however, this situation is remedied by the numerous copies which contemporary artists of the Greco-Roman period made of miniatures in many different media such as marble reliefs, chiefly sarcophagi, metalworks, mosaics, frescoes, and so on. In many instances the compositional schemes of the Byzantine miniatures, notwithstanding their stylistic transformation, could be related to ancient works of art in one or the other medium, and thus a fairly accurate idea could be formed of those lost classical miniatures. Yet, in other cases, where no parallel could be found in the extant classical material, the Byzantine miniature turned out to be a primary document for the classical archaeologist who studies the iconography of the illustrated great literary texts of antiquity.

A comprehensive history of classical book illumination has still to be written, a task which can only be fulfilled if full use is made not only of the classical material but also of the mediaeval manuscripts which descend from classical models. At the present state of scholarship we do not even know approximately the number of texts or even all the categories of texts which were illustrated after miniature painting as a new branch of art was introduced into Greek art in the Early Hellenistic period. Obviously only very few illustrated classical texts have left their traces in manuscripts of the Middle Byzantine period. Yet these late reflections make an important contribution to a future history of ancient book illumination, and with this in mind we should like to examine once more the texts involved.

1. *The Iliad*

The Homeric poems, the Iliad even more than the Odyssey, were the most frequently illustrated texts in classical antiquity, holding a position in an-

[1] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 69ff. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 47ff.

cient book illumination not unlike the Bible in the Christian era. The development of the illustrated Iliad can still be comprehended in some of its stages from the Megarian bowls of the early Hellenistic period, through the Iliac tablets of the first century, to the late classical codex in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and the Iliad scene on a papyrus fragment in Munich which provides the direct evidence for the existence of Homeric illustrations in papyrus rolls.[3] Only the smallest trickle can be found today in Byzantine art. Yet, the Xanthus miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 103) proves not only the fact of the survival of an illustrated Iliad in the Middle Ages, but it represents an episode which is not preserved among the ancient illustrations we have of Book XIX. Likewise, if our identification of the chariot combat of the Cluny casket as the retreat of Diomedes before the onrushing Hector is correct (fig. 212), we would have another episode without parallel in the ancient repertory of scenes from Book XI. These two Byzantine representations may therefore be added to the list of illustrated passages which Bulas made in his study of the Iliad iconography.[4]

2. *The Dramas of Euripides*

Next to the Homeric poems the most frequently illustrated texts were the dramas of Euripides which, too, can be traced back to the beginning of Hellenism since the earliest reflections appear once more on the Megarian bowls of that period.[5] For the Roman period the sarcophagi offer the richest documentary evidence for the cyclic illustration of Euripidean dramas,[6] as Carl Robert, author of the corpus of the sarcophagi, realized long ago. Unfortunately a comprehensive Euripides iconography comparable to that of the Odyssey by Müller[7] and that of the Iliad by Bulas, already mentioned, does not exist, since Séchan's excellent books on Euripides illustrations[8] deals nearly exclusively with fourth century vases, i.e. with a period when the cyclic illustration in book form did not yet exist and the relation between picture and text was not yet of so precise and intimate nature as in the manuscripts. The recently proposed interpretation of the decoration of some Bactrian silver vessels as illustrations from Euripides[9] and the discovery of Euripides scenes on the mosaics of Antioch[10] may be quoted as examples of re-

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 26ff., 38ff., 42ff., 54ff. and *passim* and figs. 20, 30-34, and 42.

[4] K. Bulas, *Les Illustrations antiques de l'Iliade*, Lwow 1929, pp. 139ff.

[5] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 20ff., 27ff., 44ff. and *passim* and figs. 9-10.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 23ff. and figs. 15-19.

[7] F. Müller, *Die antiken Odyssee-Illustrationen*, Berlin 1913.

[8] L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926.

[9] Weitzmann, "Three 'Bactrian' Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides," *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, pp. 289ff.

[10] Weitzmann, "Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the Mosaics of Antioch," in: *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. III. *The Excavations 1937-39*, Princeton 1941, pp. 233ff.—D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic*

cent additions to the repertory of Euripides iconography and as a reminder that more preliminary studies are still needed before an adequate picture of the extent of Euripides scenes in Greek and Roman art can be obtained. In such a study the Byzantine documents are of an even greater importance than in the case of the Iliad. First of all, since no illustrated Euripides manuscript has come down to us, the Jealousy miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian (fig. 159) is our first evidence of an Euripides illustration in the medium of book illumination. The additional significance of this miniature lies in the fact that it contains not only scenes from the *Medea*, the *Peliades*, and the *Aegeus*, of which illustrations are preserved in classical monuments, but that it includes the first illustrations from the *Ino* to come to light. Of the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the *Hippolytus* and perhaps the *Stheneboea* scenes, or at least parts of scenes, could be traced in the ivories. Of these the illustration of Iphigenia's sacrifice on the Veroli casket (fig. 214) has preserved, as archaeologists realized long ago, certain features of the classical archetype even better than the Ara of Cleomenes (fig. 217). A Euripides iconography is of course much more difficult to reconstruct than that of the Homeric poems because most Euripidean dramas are no longer extant and so are known only very imperfectly, chiefly through quotations by other classical writers. Here the pictures can sometimes be used to supplement the literary evidence. If our assumption is right that the scene of Theseus finding the weapons of his father at Troezen in the Jealousy miniature illustrates the prologue of the *Aegeus*, it would be a case in point.

3. *A Heracles Epos*

The difficulty of relating mythological scenes to texts which no longer exist has confronted us also in other cases, e.g., the numerous illustrations from the life of Heracles. It is true that for the labors of the dodecathlos and some other events explanatory passages could be found in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*. But other Heracles scenes are obviously not based on this mythological handbook, and consequently we had to conclude that there existed an illustrated text which dealt with the life of Heracles in greater detail. Yet, it seems useless to speculate which one of the several epic poems mentioned (p. 165) may have survived with illustrations and been accessible to the Byzantine artists. That a narrative illustration of the life of Heracles, vastly expanding the traditional set of the dodecathlos pictures, was begun in early Hellenism, i.e. about the same time as the Homer and Euripides illustrations, can once more be inferred from the Megarian bowls.[11] A systematic study of Heracles scenes in

Pavements, Princeton 1947, pp. 68ff., 119ff. and pls. XI-XIII and XXII (with partly differing interpretation).

[11] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 22 and figs. 11-12.

the Greco-Roman period, particularly those in addition to the dodecathlos, from the point of view of a coherent cycle has not yet been attempted, and therefore a more exact placing of the Byzantine copies within an extensive classical cycle cannot yet be made. In no other category of mythological scenes in Byzantine art does the evidence rest so preponderantly on the ivories, though the only miniature we have, that of the Geryon adventure (fig. 138), shows also at least the implication of a larger narrative cycle, since the putti grouped around were taken from a representation of Heracles' drunkenness at Omphale's court (fig. 141), so that the miniature could be linked with the same source on which the ivories depend.

4. *An Achilles Epos*

A miniature with the education of Achilles by Chiron (figs. 12-13) and three more scenes from the hero's childhood on the ivories (figs. 205-206; 208 and 210) point to a cyclic illustration and once more it must be asked for what text these pictures were originally invented. The oldest preserved monument with a cyclic illustration of Achilles' childhood is the Tensa Capitolina (figs. 14 and 207) which is generally dated in the second or third centuries A.D. Since the craftsmanship is Roman, it may well be that the metalworkers used an illustrated *Achilleis* of Statius as model. But even if this could be proved we still would not necessarily have found the first illustrated Achilles poem, since Statius, living in the first century, surely knew an earlier Greek *Achilleis*, which, in turn, may already have been illustrated. There is even some evidence in favor of this latter assumption.

The second monument used for comparison, the marble disk in the Museo Capitolino (figs. 16 and 209), belongs to a larger group of similar monuments which recently have been dated around the fourth century A.D. They were found at various places, including the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, and Alexandria has been proposed tentatively as their place of origin.[12] This provenance would support a Greek rather than a Latin origin of the picture cycle. Moreover, that Statius was surely not the source for this cycle is indicated by the scene of the birth of Achilles which is not told in Statius. Yet the strongest evidence we have for a Greek origin is that similar Achilles scenes appear in a Byzantine manuscript and in the ivory caskets, since it is highly unlikely that Byzantine artists of the tenth or eleventh centuries copied the pictures out of a Latin text like Statius. Thus it seems to us merely accidental that there is no longer extant an older Greek monument,

[12] A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Πλὰξ *τραπέζης χριστιανική*, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1914-15, pp. 70ff.—Et. Michon, "Rebords de bassins chrétiens ornés de reliefs," *Revue bibl.*, n.s. XII, 1915, pp. 485ff.; XIII, 1916, pp. 121ff.—G. A. S. Snyder, "The So-called Puteal in the Capitoline Museum at Rome," *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 56ff.

antedating the Tensa Capitolina, with a narrative cycle of the stories of Achilles' youth which formed the common source both for the Roman metal-workers and the later Byzantine miniaturists.

5. *A Dionysus Epos*

Numerous elements can be derived from a narrative illustration of the life of Dionysus, but, unfortunately, in the miniatures of Pseudo-Oppian as well as in the ivories we seldom find complete scenes but only isolated figures, singled out of larger representations. It has already been pointed out that the only Greek Bacchic poem left to us, the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis from about the fifth century A.D., explains some of the Bacchic elements scattered in miniatures and ivories, but there are others which cannot be related to the Nonnus text. It seems more likely, therefore, that one of the earlier Dionysus poems is the ultimate source for most of the Greco-Roman representations as well as for the Byzantine survivals. But even if we had the original text, it would in many cases be difficult, if not impossible, to establish the exact relation between picture and text, because the repeated description of the revelry, the theme most often copied in all kinds of media, lacks the individuality characteristic of episodes of most epic poems. This makes extremely difficult any attempt to reconstruct the original narrative sequence for the numerous Dionysian scenes.

6. *Bucolic poetry*

Difficulties of a similar nature are encountered in dealing with illustrations of bucolic poetry. That this branch of literature was illustrated in books cannot be doubted. Since most philologists agree that Virgil in his *Eclogues* and *Georgics* was under the influence of Greek bucolic poetry, it is more than likely that also their illustrations, as they occur in the Virgilius Romanus,[13] hark back to the same Greek models as the text. Possibly Theocritus' *Idyllia* existed with illustrations already in the Hellenistic period and they may very well have been the source for the first illustrator of Virgil's *Eclogues*. The Brooklyn Museum possesses an interesting set of Coptic textiles with bucolic scenes[14] which in their general character as well as their style resemble the Eclogue miniatures of the Virgilius Romanus, though the basic text from which these representations were originally made up was surely not

[13] *Picturae Ornamenta complura scripturae specimina cod. Vat. 3867* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. II) (facsimile), Rome 1902.

[14] *Catalogue of the Exhibition "The Dark Ages" at the Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, Mass. 1937, p. 45, nos. 134-137, with illus.—A. Goldschmidt, "Exhibition of the Art of the Dark Ages at the Worcester Art Museum," *Parnassus*, IX, 1937, no. 3, pp. 29ff.—*Catalogue of the Exhibition "Early Christian and Byzantine Art at the Baltimore Museum of Art,"* Baltimore 1947, p. 149, no. 755 and pls. CXII-CXIII.

Virgil and was in all probability a Greek text. Yet, it is not Theocritus either. Only a very small fraction of this widespread branch of Hellenistic poetry is preserved, so that for many surviving narrative pictures of bucolic life the original contact between picture and text can no longer be established. At the same time, a systematic treatment of bucolic illustrations with regard to their textual sources has not yet been attempted, and it would not surprise us if some representations turned out to be illustrations of Theocritus' *Idyllia*. If our interpretation of the Europa scenes on the ivories (figs. 246-247) as illustrations of Moschus' poem *Europa* is accepted, Byzantine monuments will have proved their value in the reconstruction of illustrated bucolic poems.

7. *The Alexander Romance*

With the illustrations of the Alexander Romance we are on surer ground, thanks to the preservation of the actual text. That of all the romances from classical antiquity we should find reflections of the Alexander Romance (figs. 70, 108-111, 250-253) is not accidental, but corresponds fully with the history of its textual transmission. No other romance text was more often copied and translated into more foreign languages. A number of these copies[15] exist with extensive miniature cycles, but they are comparatively late in date and most of the pictures are so mediaevalized that their ancestry from classical antiquity is obscured. The particular value of the Alexander miniatures in the Pseudo-Oppian lies in the fact that they still reflect the classical style, thus providing evidence for the existence of an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes in the late classical period. Moreover, if, as we believe, the interpretation of the first century marble plaque in the Capitoline museum (fig. 110) as a scene from the Alexander Romance is correct, then we are justified in assuming that the Alexander legend was illustrated even centuries before the Pseudo-Callisthenes was written in about the fourth century A.D. Apparently the so-called Pseudo-Callisthenes is but the final stage in the textual and pictorial development of the Alexander Romance. From this point of view its history is analogous to that of the *Physiologus*, written about the same time, but likewise harking back to older animal treatises which, too, had already been illustrated.[16]

8. *The Mythological Handbook*

All the miniature copies discussed so far appear in Byzantine manuscripts as the result of a migration, having abandoned their association with the basic text for which they were made, and entering a new textual relationship, comparable to "quotations" in texts. The only group of pictures which did

[15] Cf. p. 104 notes 25-29.

[16] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 138ff.

not entirely lose their tie with the text which fully explains them are the mythological miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus commentaries. It is true that the commentaries are not the basic text in the strict sense of the word, but since they are hardly more than a paraphrase of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke* and similar classical handbooks, the relation between the pictures and the text was very little affected by the migration from the original to the derivative mythographical text. Moreover, the mythographical handbook which goes under the name of Apollodorus is itself not older than the Hadrianic period and is apparently already a derivative compilation based on older texts of the same kind. This means that also the illustrations we assume to have existed in the *Bibliotheke* were most likely not made for this handbook but its models. In other words, in relating our Byzantine miniatures to an illustrated Apollodorus, we still have not yet determined the ultimate source of the picture cycle which had combined scenes of the most popular myths of classical antiquity. Once more we meet the same problem which confronted us with the Pseudo-Callisthenes where the archetype of the pictures antedates the text. The considerable amount of mythological pictures in Pseudo-Nonnus, Pseudo-Oppian, and the ivories as well, leaves no doubt that we are dealing with the main channel through which illustrations of ancient mythography became known to the Constantinopolitan miniaturists of the Middle Byzantine period.

It lies in the nature of a study of chiefly migrated miniatures that the identification of the basic texts for which they were invented can be made with only varying degrees of certainty. While some basic texts could in the present study be identified beyond doubt, others were only tentatively so, and in a few cases no final conclusion could be reached. Whether, e.g., the three episodes from the adventures of the Argonauts (figs. 118, 147-148) go ultimately back to an illustrated Apollonius Rhodius or rather a mythological handbook, or whether the representation of the birth of Aphrodite (figs. 63-64) permits the assumption of an illustrated Hesiod, are still unsolved questions.

To repeat, no attempt has been made to collect all available mythological representations in Byzantine manuscripts. We have preferred to treat only the two most elucidating texts, the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian, because of their richness and variety of mythological subjects. Other manuscripts exist where occasionally a mythological miniature of classical ancestry has been added, as, e.g., the tenth century Nicander in Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl. gr. 247. Here we find an illustration of the Canopus episode,[17]

[17] E. de Chanot-F. Lenormant, "Peintures d'un manuscrit de Nicandre," *Gaz. Arch.*, II, 1876, p. 34 and pl. XI, no. 2.—Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs*, pl. LXVI, no. 1.

which was narrated in the mythological handbook of Conon, as we know from a short description of the content of this book in the *Myriobiblon* of the patriarch Photius.[18] This great ninth century scholar possessed a copy of Conon's handbook bound in with that of Apollodorus in the same volume. Perhaps this very volume had illustrations for both its parts, though this, of course, remains hypothetical. It seems proper to remind the reader that our knowledge of Byzantine book illumination is still very fragmentary and that in the present state of scholarship no study can yet be attempted which could claim a more or less complete coverage of the extant material.

But even if we should be able in the future to add a few more items to our list of mythological subjects, including possibly some from texts not covered by this study, we still could not assess the extraordinary wealth of classical texts which must have been available in the imperial and other libraries of Constantinople to the illustrators of the Middle Byzantine period. The realization that artists of that time were in a position to consult and to excerpt an illustrated Iliad, or a considerable number of Euripidean tragedies with their wealth of pictures, or a handbook with mythological miniatures whose original number can no longer be estimated, opens a new vista to the problem of the survival of classical art in the Middle Ages. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that in the present study we have touched only upon one section of classical book illumination which survived in mediaeval Byzantium. There were the scientific treatises with pictures, many of which were considered by the mediaeval scribes as having still a practical value, and these continued to be copied on an even larger scale than the literary texts. This realm includes treatises on mathematics and applied mathematics, such as engineering and the construction of war engines and all kinds of automata, and some astronomical manuscripts. All kinds of medical treatises were adorned with explanatory pictures and so were the prolifically copied botanical manuscripts and several types of animal treatises. These, too, would have to be taken into account if one were trying to get a more or less complete picture of the vast enterprise of the Byzantines to preserve the heritage of classical book illumination.[19]

Yet, taking fully into account the illustrated texts not treated in this study and all the possible losses since the destruction of Constantinople in 1204, if we could put ourselves into the place of a Byzantine humanist of the tenth century who had free access to the shelves of the imperial library, we soon would discover that many texts were lacking which in classical antiquity had

[18] Migne, *P.G.* 103, col. 552.

[19] The most extensive surveys made so far of the illustrated scientific texts are the repeatedly quoted book by St. J. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie*, Cracow 1928, and that of E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum*, Leipzig and Vienna 1945.

existed with rich miniature cycles and apparently were never copied in the Middle Ages. With the destruction of the fabulously rich libraries of Alexandria and other metropolitan cities of the ancient world, much had been irrevocably lost already at the time when Christianity had begun to settle down. Moreover, a perhaps even greater number of illustrated texts disappeared as the result of the natural decay of the perishable papyrus, which under normal conditions hardly outlasts three generations. In these cases the sporadic copies of ancient miniatures in other media are our only hope for the reconstruction of the history of ancient book illumination. If we realize that in the Hellenistic period not only the Iliad and the Odyssey but most poems of the κύκλος ἐπικός existed with extensive picture cycles, as evidenced by the Megarian bowls and the Iliac tablets,[20] we cannot but be impressed by the extraordinary vastness of miniature cycles which once existed in papyrus rolls and which were already lost in the later stages of classical antiquity, since there is no evidence that they were ever copied again in later manuscripts.

Similarly, in the case of the dramas of Euripides, we have no reason to assume that all the tragedies and satyrplays which had existed with illustrations since the beginning of the Hellenistic period survived the classical age, although, as the scenes from the *Ino* indicate (fig. 159), more seem to have been known to the Byzantines than to us today. Aeschylus and Sophocles, too, were illustrated, though never on the same scale as Euripides. So were Greek comedies, though the only reflections we have today are the Latin Terence manuscripts of the Carolingian and Romanesque period. Furthermore, in addition to the epic poems centered on the deeds and adventures of Dionysus, Heracles, and Achilles, others dealt with the lives of Theseus and Oedipus, to quote only two examples. From these, too, illustrations have survived on the Megarian bowls[21] which justifiably can be derived from miniature models. All in all, the full range of epic poetry which once existed with extensive narrative picture cycles can no longer be comprehended.

Finally, our occupation with the Pseudo-Callisthenes led us into the field of romances, and here, too, it must be pointed out that the Alexander legend was only one of many romances existing with vast picture cycles. The only literary text on papyrus to which illustrations are preserved, a fragment in Paris,[22] seems to be a love romance, though the text has as yet not been identified or even published. Furthermore, a drawing with Amor and Psyche

[20] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 41ff., 44ff., and *passim*.

[21] C. Robert, *Homerische Becher* (50. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm), Berlin 1890, pp. 46ff., 76ff.

[22] Gasiorowski, *op. cit.*, p. 17, p. v and fig. 2.—Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 51 and fig. 40.

on a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus[23] suggests that also this allegorical romance existed with a cycle of illustrations. These few hints may be sufficient to give a glimpse into the unexplored field of ancient book illuminations and at the same time a proper perspective with regard to the sporadic remains in Byzantine art. They are no more than a trickle of what in the Hellenistic-Roman period had been a broad stream.

B. THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE MACEDONIAN RENAISSANCE

In our attempt to determine the sources of the mythological miniatures in the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts we had to branch out to some extent into Greco-Roman book illumination for a general idea of the foundation on which the copies rest. Having thus established the contact between two periods widely separated in time, the next problem is that of the transmission of the miniatures and of the channels through which it took place. This problem is intricately linked with the broader one of the textual transmission of classical literature in general. It seems therefore proper to consider briefly in this context the fate of some of the most famous texts of classical poetry, particularly in view of the fact that the material for textual studies is much richer and at the same time more thoroughly treated by philologists than the history of picture transmission by art historians.

The history of the Iliad text is especially revealing. Of no other ancient text do we possess so many papyrus fragments, more than a hundred, the majority of which belongs to the period between the first and fifth centuries A.D.[24] After this there is a gap, and the first extant codex is the famous Venetus 454 (=A), which in the facsimile edition is dated on palaeographical grounds in the tenth to eleventh century.[25] This codex, with its wealth of scholia, preserves in many ways a better tradition than most of the late classical papyrus fragments. The scribe apparently used a good classical copy earlier than the fifth century as model, and there is no evidence and no great likelihood that the Iliad was often copied between the fifth century and the end of iconoclasm.

[23] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 55 and fig. 43.

[24] Cf. the Oxford edition of Homer by D. B. Monro and Th. W. Allen, 3rd ed., Oxford 1920, pp. XXIII-XXIX, enumerating 103 papyri, only one of which (P. 89) is as late as the seventh century.—Ch. H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, Madison 1923, nos. 438-658.

[25] D. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis. Cod. Venetus A, Marcianus 454* (Codices Graeci et Latini, vol. VI), Leiden 1901, p. x. The few miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript are several centuries later. In our opinion, the style of the initials permits the text to be dated in the tenth rather than the eleventh century. Cf. Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, p. 58.

At the end of the ninth century, Bardas, the majordomo of the imperial palace, founded in the capital the university which bears his name and called to it as critic of Homer one of the most distinguished scholars, the grammarian Cometas.[26] Of him the Palatine Anthology says: "Great souled Homer, Cometas having found thy books utterly aged, made them younger; for having scraped off their old age, he exhibited them in new brilliancy to those of the learned who have understanding."[27] Another epigram reads: "I, Cometas, finding the books of Homer corrupt and quite unpunctuated, punctuated them and polished them artistically, throwing away the filth as being useless, and with my hand I rejuvenated what was useful. Hence writers now desire to learn them not erroneously, but as is proper." So obviously Cometas did not follow an established tradition of Homer scholarship, but his great achievement was the rejuvenating of Homer studies after a period of apparent oblivion. The Venetian codex must therefore be understood as a product of a revived interest in Homer which had started not long before this actual copy was written. Thus at the end of the ninth and the tenth centuries the foundation was laid upon which scholars like Eustathius and Tzetzes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries could build up their scholarship.

The texts of the great dramatists present a very similar situation. The oldest preserved codex of Aeschylus, dated palaeographically at the turn from the tenth to the eleventh century, is the Laurentian codex Plut. XXXII, 9 (=M), which contains the seven known dramas with a rich body of scholia.[28] Wilamowitz assumed[29] that this manuscript was copied from a codex of the ninth century at the earliest which on its part harks back directly to an archetype not later than the fifth or sixth century. Here we have the same gap in transmission as in the history of the Homer text, suggesting that also the Aeschylus text enjoyed a revival after the end of iconoclasm, i.e. the period when Bardas University was founded and initiated the revival of classical studies. The Sophocles text had much the same fate, and it is linked with that of Aeschylus by the fact that the earliest preserved copy with the seven extant dramas and their rich scholia is part of the same Laurentian codex Plut. XXXII, 9 (=L).[30] Most of the Sophocles papyri belong in the second century A.D., a few continue to the fifth century and then they stop altogether.[31] Once more we find the same gap in the tradition between the papyri and the first extant codex.

[26] F. Fuchs, "Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter," *Byz. Archiv*, VIII, 1926, p. 19.

[27] Ed. W. R. Paton, Loeb Classical Library, V, 1926, p. 143, nos. 37 and 38.

[28] Facsimile by E. Rostagno, *L'Eschilo Laurenziano*, Florence 1896.

[29] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aeschyli Tragoediae*, Berlin 1914, pp. xxiiiff.

[30] Facsimile edition by E. M. Thompson and R. C. Jebb, London 1885.

[31] Oldfather, *op. cit.*, nos. 1073-1084.

It is hardly surprising that also the oldest Euripides manuscript belongs to the tenth century. It is the palimpsest codex Τάφου 36 of the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem (=H),[32] a manuscript whose value was first questioned, but the excellence of whose readings was reinstated by Page in his edition of Euripides' *Medea*.[33] Page pointed out that the readings of this and other manuscripts are very close to those of the Rendel Harris papyrus from the second century A.D.,[34] thus concluding that not many textual changes occurred between the second and the tenth centuries. Euripides was the most popular dramatist in the Middle Ages, not only as we have seen from the artistic, but also from the textual point of view. The Byzantines preserved more of his dramas and copied them more frequently. Besides, Euripides had a direct influence on Byzantine literature as evidenced by the style and the frequent quotations in the only existing Byzantine drama of the eleventh or twelfth century, Χριστὸς Πάσχων.[35]

One more instance may be added to strengthen our point. The text criticism of the comedies of Aristophanes is based primarily on two codices, one of which, being at the same time the oldest in existence, is the codex 137, 4 A, in the Bibliotheca Publica in Ravenna (=R) from the end of the tenth or perhaps the beginning of the eleventh century.[36] It contains all eleven extant comedies, enriched by scholia which, however, are not as rich as those of the second manuscript, the Venetus 474 (=V) from the twelfth century, though this copy possesses only seven of the comedies.[37] Zacher, in his study of the Aristophanes text,[38] concludes that not only these two important manuscripts, but all we have today hark back to a single copy from the beginning of the tenth century which he characterizes as "Sammelcodex." He tries to find an explanation for the production of such a "Sammelcodex" at that time and connects it with the literary activities of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, whose comprehensive encyclopaedic enterprise is responsible for the transmission of so many classical texts of nearly every branch of literature, poetical and scientific alike.[39]

The almost sudden appearance of copies of classical texts, at the time when

[32] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, vol. I, 1891, p. 108 with 7 pls.

[33] D. L. Page, *Euripides Medea*, Oxford 1938, p. xlv.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. xlix, no. Π^8.

[35] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., Munich 1897, p. 746.—Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, VII, 1, 3, Munich 1940, p. 833, note 1.

[36] J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim cum scholiis, Codex Ravennas 137, 4A* (Codices Graeci et Latini, cod. 9) (facsimile), Leiden 1904.

[37] J. W. White and Th. W. Allen, *Facsimile of the Codex Venetus Marcianus 474*, London and Boston 1902.

[38] K. Zacher, *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*, Leipzig 1888, p. 736. Cf. also G. Zuntz, "Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri," *Byzantion*, XIV, 1939, pp. 545ff.

[39] Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 253ff.

the Bardas University was fostering the study of classical literature, when Photius summarized classical along with Christian writers in his *Myriobiblon*, and when under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus encyclopaedias of classical learning were begun, coincides in time with the equally sudden re-emergence of illustrations of classical mythology in Byzantine manuscripts. Our previous argument for the appearance of the latter had been based on the pictorial evidence that in the ninth century Gregory manuscript in Milan the mythological subjects (figs. 95-99) were illustrated in an entirely unclassical fashion and that in the Pseudo-Nonnus manuscripts the classical elements which are derived from ancient models are mixed with typical Byzantine elements which could not be older than the tenth century. Now in linking the pictorial with the textual evidence the issue of the revival movement is put on a broader basis. It will become apparent that the copying of classical miniatures is not the result of a whim of a few individual artists; it is part of a widespread humanistic movement which aimed at a general revival of classical learning, yet not in antagonism, but in harmony with the Christian tradition. In this revival movement Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus played a major role. He was not only responsible for the copying of classical texts; he exercised the art of painting himself,[40] and although the praise of the chroniclers in this respect has surely to be taken with a grain of salt, we nevertheless get from their remarks the impression that the Emperor showed a very personal interest in the art of painting.

In the process of the copying of classical models no essential changes were necessary in the physical relation between picture and text. We have demonstrated in our previous study[41] that the general system of illustrations in ancient papyrus rolls, which persisted in the early codices, was the intercalation of the writing columns with simple but concise pictures at places where they are closest to the explanatory text passages. Both the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts maintained in this respect an essential quality of an illustrated papyrus roll. Yet in spite of the preservation of this ancient scheme, the style of their miniatures, as far as the proportion of the figures, their stances and gestures, and particularly the treatment and the details of the costumes are concerned, has changed considerably and lost a great deal of its classical character. On the other hand, one should not draw general conclusions from these two manuscripts as to the Byzantine miniaturists' abilities to revitalize the classical style. Both the Pseudo-Nonnus in Jerusalem and the Pseudo-Oppian in Venice, the two manuscripts on which our chief evidence rests for the copying of classical mythology, belong already to the elev-

[40] A. Stransky, "Constantino VII Porfirogenito, amante delle arti e collezionista," *Studi byzantini e neoellenici*, VI, 1940, pp. 412ff.—Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*, pp. 87ff., 113ff.

[41] *Roll and Codex*, pp. 47ff.

enth century, when the revival movement was no longer at its peak. This had been reached in the first half of the tenth century, after which the firsthand study of classical models declined and the style relapsed again into the traditional, more spiritual and dematerialized, Byzantine style.

What we can expect from a good tenth century copy of a classical model may be seen in the best ivories of that period. The plaque with the sacrifice of Iphigenia from the Veroli casket (fig. 214), whose stylistic dependence on the classical model can still be demonstrated by a comparison with the so-called Ara of Cleomenes (fig. 217), is in all probability not copied directly from an ancient relief, but—like the other ivories of this particular group—from contemporary miniatures which formed the intermediary link. These immediate models, which most likely even surpassed the ivories in the understanding of classical forms, must have been made in the first half of the tenth century, and to the same period we like to ascribe the prototypes of the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts. In other words, the preserved copies are separated from these prototypes by at least three or four generations, during which time the classical style had been considerably faded through repeated copying. To make this point clear by an analogy, one may compare the miniatures of the eleventh and twelfth century Octateuchs, which are on about the same stylistic level as the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts, with those of the Joshua Roll of the tenth century,[42] in order to see the gradual dissolution of the revival style into the conventionalized, normative style in the following two centuries. A comparison of the best miniatures of the tenth century Psalter in Paris, cod. gr. 139, with its eleventh and twelfth century derivatives[43] would lead to the same conclusion and so would a juxtaposition of the tenth century Evangelist pictures of the codex 43 in Stauronikita on Mount Athos[44] with any one of the very numerous Evangelist portraits of the following centuries. We can only regret that not a single mythological miniature has come down to us from the tenth century equal in quality to the Veroli casket and the best Christian miniatures of that time.

The revival movement of the tenth century is primarily, though by no means exclusively, a book renaissance, and it is through books that pictures of classical mythology became known again in mediaeval Byzantium. Yet, in order to assess the full impact of the artistic side of this movement, we may look for a moment at the influence of mythological miniatures upon works of art in other media. Nothing needs to be added concerning the influence on ivory sculpture to our detailed discussion of the rosette caskets, the largest

[42] Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*, pls. I-XIII.

[43] H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London 1938, cf. figs. 1-14 with figs. 19-23, 53, 68, 73, 76, and 78.

[44] Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pl. XXX.

group of monuments we have today outside the miniatures where mythological subjects occur, though admittedly the ivory carvers had in most cases lost the understanding of the original meaning. These ivory caskets were sometimes used as models for metalworkers in a rather mechanical fashion by hammering a thin sheet of gilt silver over the ivory as, e.g., in the casket of the cathedral in Anagni (figs. 180, 203 and 225). In other instances metalworkers depended either directly on the miniatures, or on ancient metalwork, as may have been the case with the inkwell, in the treasure of the cathedral of Padua,[45] with figures of pagan deities round the sides and the head of a Gorgon on the lid. This small box belongs in about the same period as the best ivory caskets and shows even greater understanding of the modeling of nude bodies. Another reflection of the ivory caskets may be seen in a glass bowl in the treasury of St. Mark's in Venice, where even the rosette borders were copied together with the figures of pagan divinities.[46] The style is indeed so classical, and in quality equal to the very best ivories, that for a long time the vessel had been considered to be a product of Roman rather than Byzantine glassware. Since this piece is quite unique there is no way of telling whether such works were already a rarity in Byzantine times or whether it is an accidental remains of a once large group of similar vessels. Also the cloisonné enamels, which reached their greatest perfection at that time, show the influence of classical elements. It is quite extraordinary that on the imperial crown of Constantine Monomache the figures of the emperor and the empress were framed by dancing girls who clearly are derived from classical Maenads similar to those in our mythological miniatures and ivories.[47]

As is to be expected, the mythological subjects show up primarily in various branches of the so-called minor arts. Whether they had even a limited influence on monumental art is difficult to say, because too much of it had been destroyed in Constantinople. It is true that plaques of rosette caskets were copied in marble reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Ferrara[48] and that in St. Mark's in Venice an ancient Heracles relief was copied in the Middle Ages in the same medium.[49] But in both cases we deal with Italian products and one should be cautious in drawing from them conclusions as to

[45] P. Toesca, "Cimeli bizantini," *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 35 and plate.—A. Moschetti, "Il Tesoro della cattedrale di Padova," *Dedalo*, VI, 1925-26, p. 82 with figure.

[46] A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, vol. VIII, Venice 1886, p. 100 and pls. XL, 78; XLI, 82.—O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford 1911, pp. 218, 614.

[47] M. Barany-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*, Budapest 1937, p. 75, has rightly pointed out their similarity to the Maenads of the Pseudo-Oppian (our fig. 114) and the ivory casket in Vienna (our fig. 231).

[48] Weitzmann, "Abendländische Kopien byzantinischer Rosettenkästen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, III, 1934, pp. 89ff. and figs. 1-4.

[49] E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1932, p. 228 and figs. 4-5.

Constantinopolitan marble sculpture. There may have existed reflections of mythological miniatures in still other media. Even so, the general impression from the examples quoted is one of a rather sporadic copying of scenes or single figures out of scenes whose original meaning was lost as soon as they were transferred into another medium and thus separated from their explanatory text. As interesting as all these reflections are, yet the revival movement would be of only limited importance were it not for the fact that it had a profound influence on Christian art in general. This influence went indeed as far as to give to the whole tenth century art of Constantinople a decisive turn the consequences of which were felt for centuries thereafter.

The absorption of classical elements into the Christian tradition takes place in three ways. The first and most conspicuous is the addition of classical figures to Christian scenes, chiefly in the form of personifications. Of course, personifications occur also in Early Christian art, but their number increases greatly after the end of the ninth and particularly in the tenth century. That many of them are intrusions made at that time can in many instances be proved, because (1) they do not yet appear in earlier copies of the same recension, and (2) they hark back to types which originally had another meaning. In two previous studies we have analyzed the additions to the Christian nucleus of the miniatures of the well-known Paris Psalter and tried to identify the classical types they copy,[50] and more recently the same has been done for the classical elements in the Joshua Roll,[51] so that the details need not be repeated. Both manuscripts are, we believe, products of the first half of the tenth century, i.e. of the same period to which we ascribed the first Byzantine copies of our mythological miniatures. This surely is more than a coincidence and throws a new light on these two Biblical manuscripts, which represent the climax of what we like to call the Macedonian renaissance. While previously we could only identify the intruding classical types, on the basis of Pompeian frescoes and similar monuments, we can now more precisely determine the channels through which the classical elements became known and accessible to the Biblical illustrators. The actual sources were surely not Campanian wall paintings, but, as we see it now, the very same illustrated classical texts which had been exploited also by the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian painters.

The chief source was in all probability once more the illustrated *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus. Among its miniatures, as seen in a copy of the Pseudo-Nonnus, was a representation of the laceration of Actaeon (figs. 6 and 10).

[50] Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. gr. 139 and die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrb. f. Kunstw.*, 1929, pp. 178ff.—*Idem*, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761, Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, x, 1947, pp. 21ff.

[51] *Idem*, *Joshua Roll*, pp. 51ff.

Now in a miniature of the Paris Psalter, representing David's fight with the lion, there appears behind the rocks a youth gesturing in astonishment[52] who resembles very much the Actaeon gazing at Artemis in a Pompeian fresco.[53] It seems quite plausible that the Apollodorus had also an illustration of this scene which preceded the laceration of Actaeon and that this was the model that inspired the Psalter painter for the youth expressing astonishment over the valor of David. Furthermore, the illustrators of the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter copied, for different purposes—one for the city personification of Gibeon, and the other for the personification of Melodia—, the type of Io out of a well-known classical composition where she is watched by Argus.[54] Since this story is told in Apollodorus (II, I, 3) it is quite possible that this text had an illustration resembling the Pompeian frescoes, though admittedly the episode is told in this handbook so tersely that there may have been a fuller text from which the illustration of the Io episode was made up. In a similar manner an ancient type of Stheneboea was used by both Biblical painters, once for the city of Ai and again for the personification of Proseuche.[55] Here, too, the mythological handbook may have been the source (Apoll. II, III, 1-2), though the locus classicus is the *Stheneboea* of Euripides. We know now that an illustrated Euripides was among the models accessible to the Byzantine miniaturists, and it seems quite likely that this is another reflection from the same source.

Naturally, one should not be too stringent in the attempt to trace the actual literary source of isolated mythological elements which had even changed their original meaning, as is the case with most of the personifications in Biblical miniatures. We prefer to leave it an open question whether the Ariadne who formed the model for a city personification of Jericho[56] was taken from the mythological handbook (Apoll., Epit. I, 9-11) or rather from a larger cycle of Theseus illustrations[57] out of an epic poem centered on the deeds of that hero. Moreover, it is hardly surprising to see the mother of Antaeus turned into a personification of the city of Ai,[58] since it is clear from the ivories that an extensive cycle of illustrations from the life of Heracles had become one of the most influential mythological picture cycles in the revival movement.

The classical borrowings in Christian miniatures are not confined to human figures. In the Joshua Roll we find trees in enclosures, altars, towers from sacred groves, and rustic villas which we derived, together with the numerous mountain and river gods from illustrations of bucolic poetry. Here appears again that branch of illustrated literature which was reflected

52 Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. II.—Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. II.

53 Weitzmann, *Jahrb. f. Kunstw.*, figs. 5-6.

54 *Idem, Joshua Roll*, figs. 65-66 and 82.

55 *Ibid.*, figs. 73-74 and 83.

56 *Ibid.*, figs. 67-68.

57 *Idem, Roll and Codex*, p. 44.

58 *Idem, Joshua Roll*, figs. 71-72.

in the Pseudo-Oppian miniatures and the ivories. In thus establishing a connection between the complementary classical elements in the Biblical miniatures and our mythographical pictures, we have on the one hand found the actual channel through which these classical elements were transmitted, and on the other enriched the repertory of mythological scenes in those manuscripts, now lost, on which the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian illustrators depended.

The second kind of absorption of classical elements affects more the inner substance of a Biblical picture, though this may not be so evident at first sight. Such is the case where an illustrator of the time of the Macedonian renaissance substitutes for a traditional Biblical type a new one copied out of some mythological representation. A few such cases, for which the fuller explanation is given elsewhere, may briefly be mentioned. In the Anastasis miniature of a lectionary on Mount Athos, which is preserved in the treasure of the Lavra monastery,[59] we see Christ dragging Adam out of hell, while in the traditional iconography he had been represented approaching Adam. The new type, which does not appear before the tenth century, is an adaptation from a Heracles dragging Cerberus out of Hades, holding a club as sign of victory just as Christ holds the cross. Furthermore in the Nativity miniature of the same manuscript the midwives bathing the Christ Child resemble quite closely the nymphs who wash the newborn Dionysus in much the same fashion. Or to quote still another example: the miniature of David's return to Jerusalem from the battle against Goliath in the Paris Psalter is an adaptation of a well-known composition depicting an episode from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*.[60] Saul and David are transformed from the types of Orestes and Pylades and an unnamed personification beside the temple is none other than Iphigenia herself, who in the classical model stood, of course, between the columns. These three examples, then, contain elements from a labor of Heracles, an episode from the life of Dionysus, and from a Euripidean drama, i.e. from cycles whose influence upon Byzantine book illumination and ivories we have seen in many instances. Here new possibilities open up for enlarging our knowledge of specific mythological scenes which once existed in tenth century Byzantine manuscripts.

The occurrence of classical types like these in various Christian miniatures points to a widespread usage of illustrated mythographical manuscripts, which therefore must have been fairly easily accessible and available in a reasonable number of copies. In defining the classical types transformed into Christian ones, one has, of course, to be aware that already in Early Christian times, when the first Biblical manuscripts were illustrated, classical models

[59] Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra" *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, pp. 83ff.

[60] Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 159ff.

had been widely exploited not only for single types but whole compositional schemes.[61] Therefore as sharp a distinction as possible must be made between this first absorption in Early Christian times and the one during the Macedonian renaissance. Each case has to be studied individually, and only by comparing what we consider to be a Renaissance composition with an earlier stage of the same scene within the same recension can we determine with reasonable accuracy the classical elements due to a later intrusion. For all three examples discussed above, this requirement has been fulfilled.

The third kind of absorption is that of the classical style in general. In the centuries preceding iconoclasm there had been some dematerialization of the human figure which after iconoclasm may very well have led to a more abstract style comparable to that of the Latin West, although, owing to the Greek blood in the veins of the Byzantines, the result would probably have been less extreme. The Renaissance movement, which had started at the end of the ninth century and was fully developed in the tenth, prevented such a development. Owing, as we see it, to the copying of classical miniatures on a considerable scale, chiefly in connection with the encyclopaedic enterprise of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Byzantine art as a whole, mosaics and wall paintings not excluded, took a decisive turn. The human figure was treated with greater plasticity and a better understanding of the human organism and painted with elaborate though systematized highlights which reveal the study of the free-brush technique of Hellenistic-Roman paintings. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the classical features begin to fade out again, or rather to become submerged in an increasingly dematerialized style which, however, is not a relapse into the Early Byzantine style but has its own quality. But at the end of that period there is another classical reaction which is generally called the Palaeologan renaissance, or, more recently, the Neo-Hellenistic movement or the late Byzantine renaissance.[62] Yet this second revival seems to have been inspired by works of the Macedonian renaissance rather than directly by ancient models, a good many of which had by that time either perished or been looted during the Latin conquest.

All three aspects of the Macedonian renaissance may also be seen in the newly discovered frescoes from S. Maria di Castelseprio which by the Italian scholars who discovered and published them were dated in the seventh century,[63] while we ourselves in a study at present in print[64] have tried to provide

[61] For a few examples of this kind cf. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 173ff.

[62] Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXVI, 1944, pp. 210ff.

[63] Gian Pietro Bognetti, Gino Chierici, Alberto de Capitani d'Arzago, *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Milan 1948.

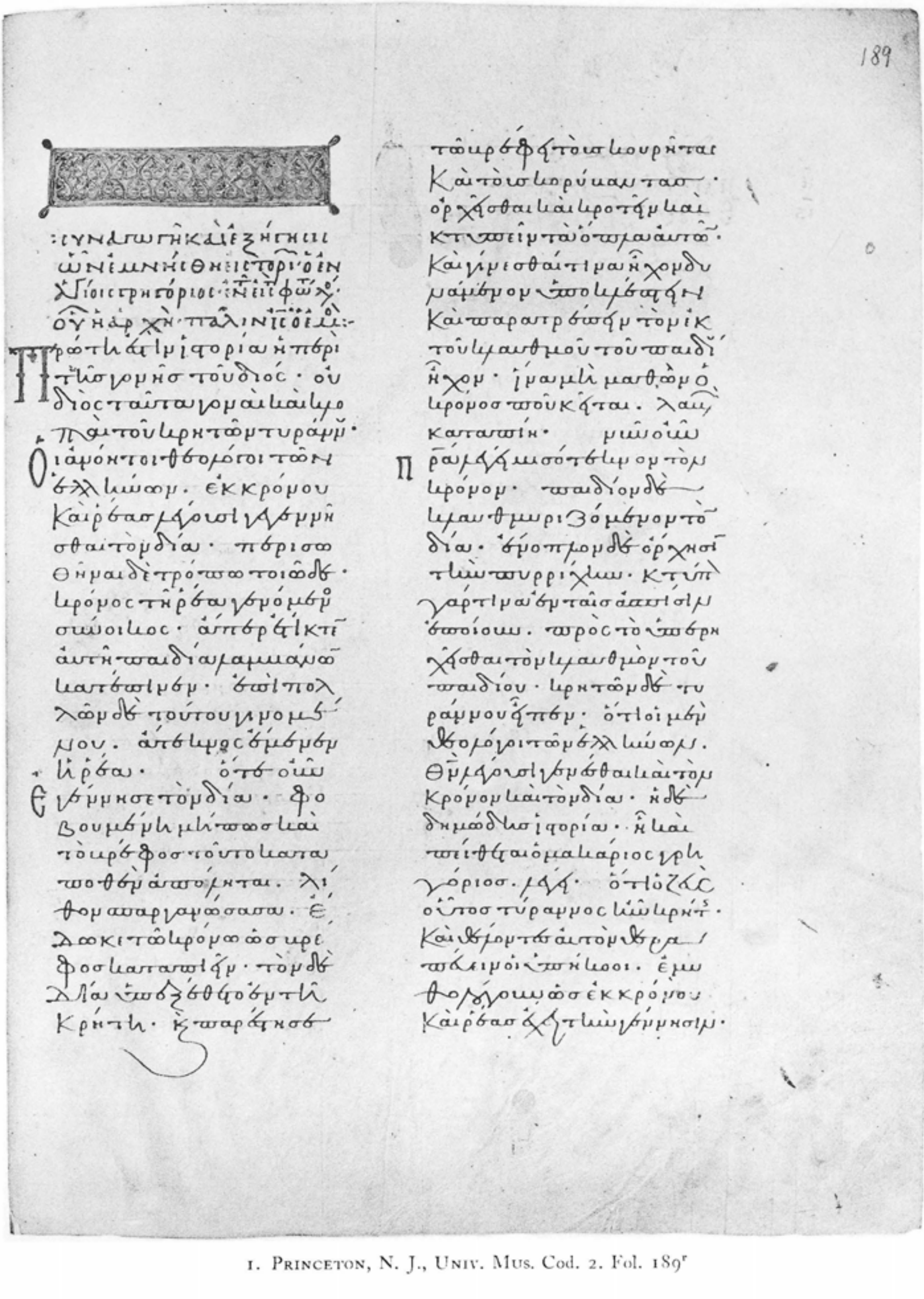
[64] K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, XXVI), Princeton 1951.

the evidence for their tenth century origin. Although there are no personifications added to the scenes from the Infancy of Christ, we do find an altar, a tower from a sacred grove and rustic villas, i.e. the very same additional elements so characteristic for the Joshua Roll and Paris Psalter to which these frescoes are related in many respects. Moreover, some of the Christian figures are apparently changed under the influence of classical types such as the pensive Virgin of the Annunciation of which we know no parallel anywhere in Christian art. Finally there is a classical flavor in the style of these frescoes which affects not only the plasticity of the human figures but the space in which these figures move so much more freely than in the fresco paintings or mosaics of the pre-iconoclastic period. The frescoes of Castelseprio represent, in our opinion, the first works of monumental art reflecting the revival movement in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

In the light of this general development of Byzantine style, the copying of classical texts with their miniatures since the end of the ninth century is in our opinion one of the most decisive factors which determined the course of Byzantine art. Now, after having defined a certain number of classical texts whose mythological miniatures had been copied at that time and been an inspiration to illustrators of Christian books and to craftsmen in various media, we hope to have given a sharper focus to the problems of the origin, development, and specific character of what we like to call the Macedonian renaissance.

INDEX

PLATES



1. Princeton, N. J., Univ. Mus. Cod. 2. Fol. 189ʳ



2. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 307v: Pelops and Oenomaus



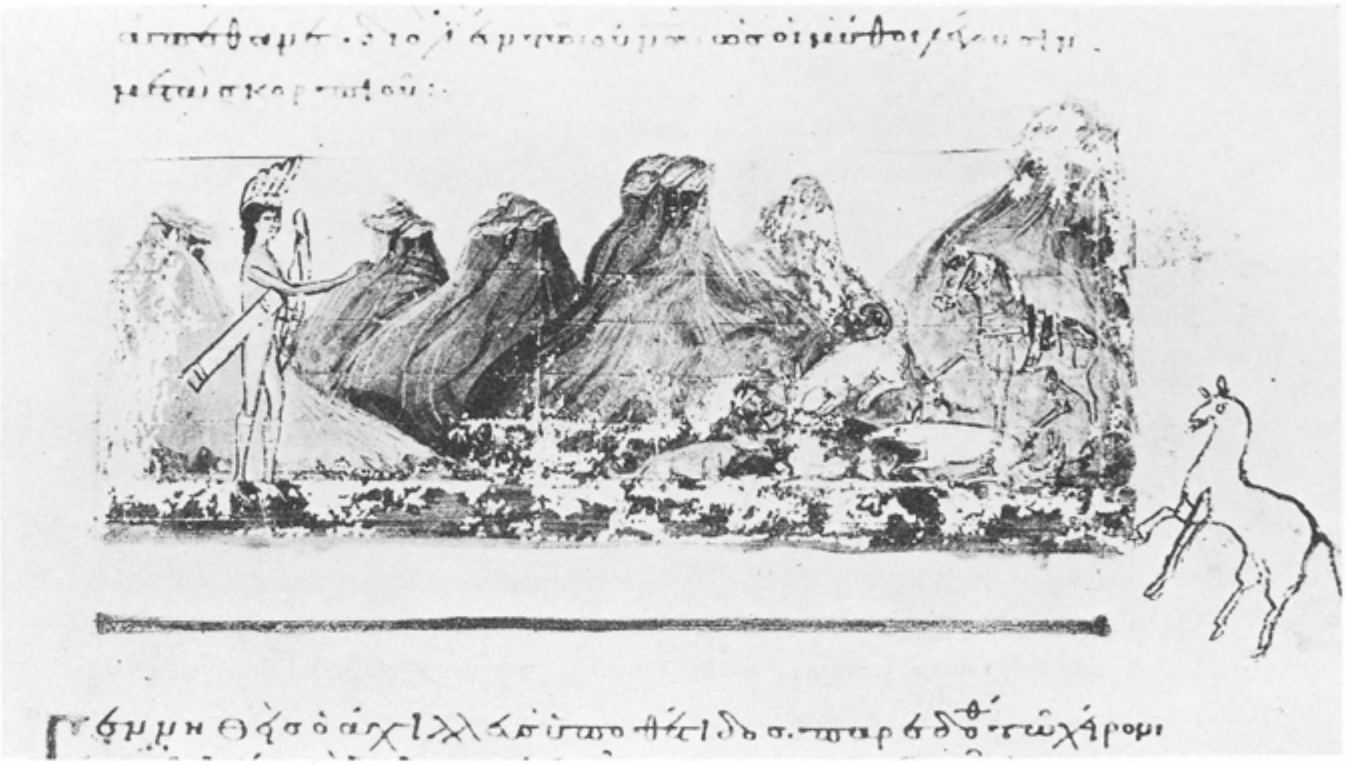
3. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 142v: Pelops and Oenomaus



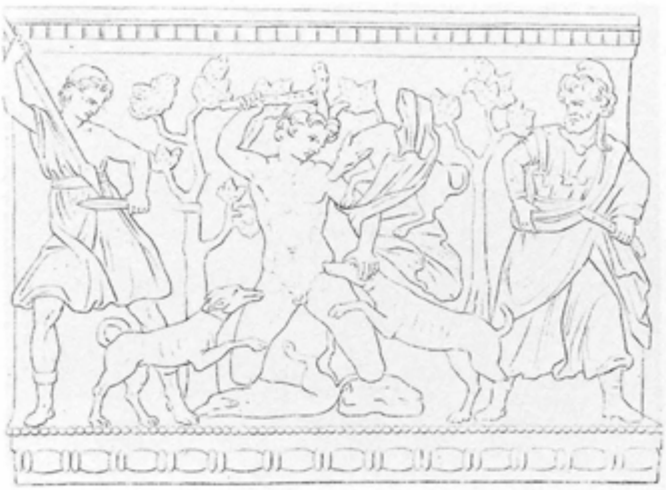
4. VATICAN. Sarcophagus: Pelops and Oenomaus



5. PARIS, LOUVRE. Sarcophagus: Pelops and Oenomaus



6. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 308^r: Artemis and Actaeon



7. VOLTERRA, MUS. Etruscan Urn: Artemis and Actaeon



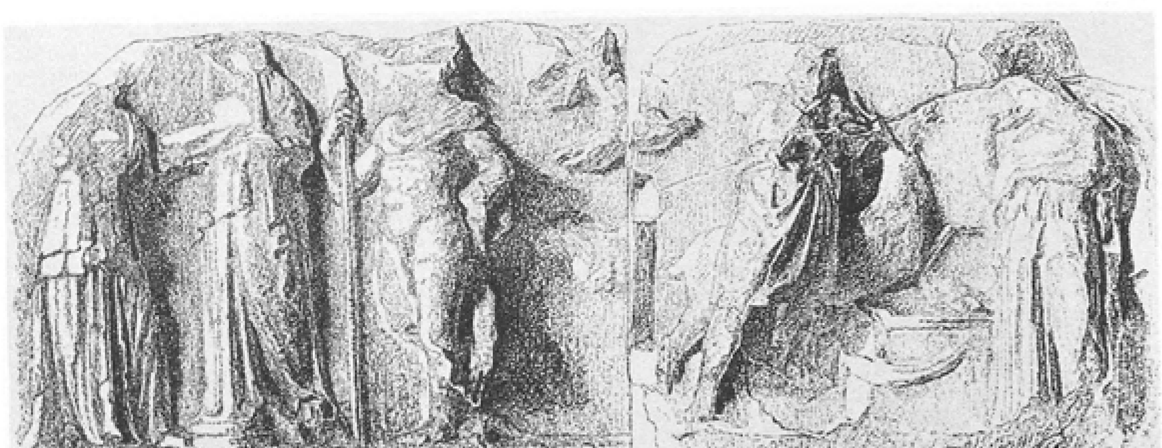
8. PARIS, LOUVRE. Sarcophagus: Artemis and Actaeon



9. POMPEII. FRESCO: Artemis and Actaeon



10. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 143^{v}: Artemis and Actaeon



11. TERMESSOS. Relief: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



12. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 308r: Chiron and Achilles



13. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 143v: Chiron and Achilles



14. ROME, PAL. CONSERV. Tensa: Chiron and Achilles



15. CAIRO, MUS. Bronze disk: Chiron and Achilles



16. ROME, MUS. CAPIT. Marble disk: Chiron and Achilles



17. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 308ᵛ: Gyges and Candaules



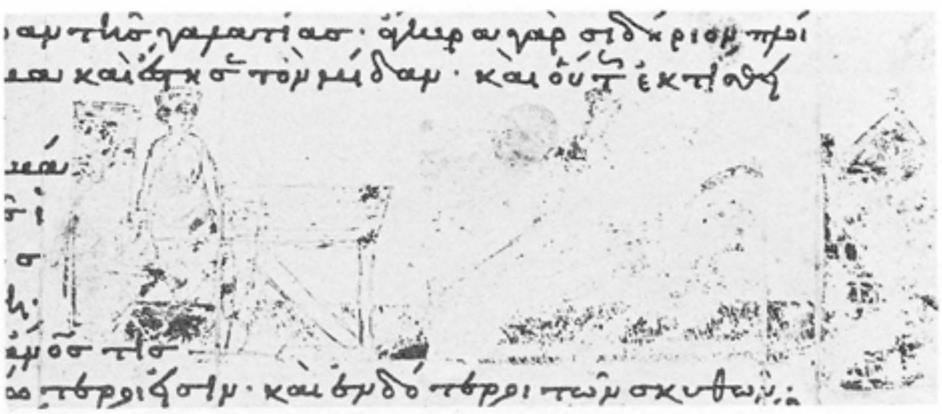
18. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 144ʳ: Gyges and Candaules



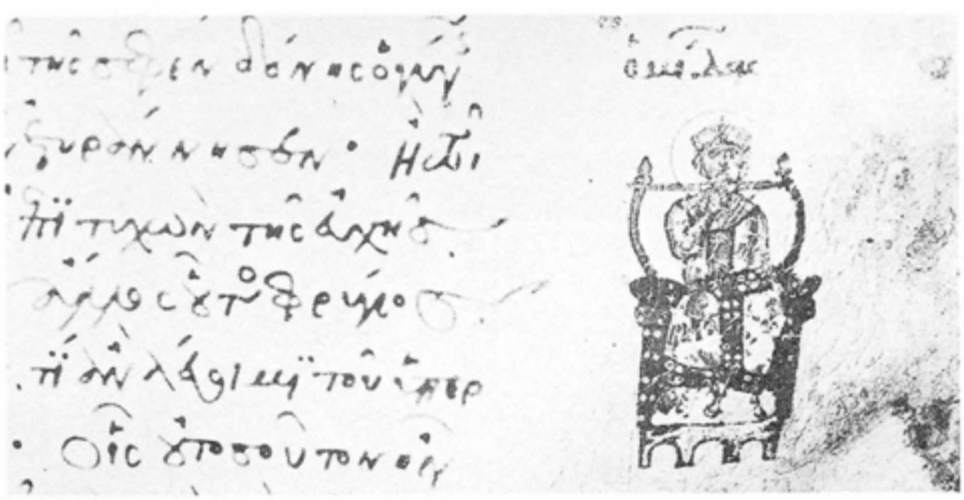
19. ISTANBUL, SERAGLIO. Cod. 8. Fol. 373ᵛ: Phinchas



20. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 309r: Midas



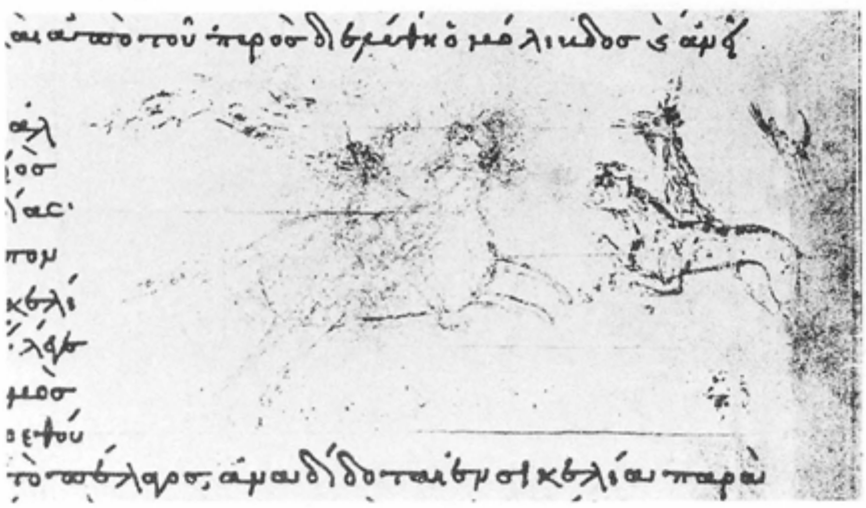
21. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 144r: Midas



22. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6. Fol. 116r: Midas



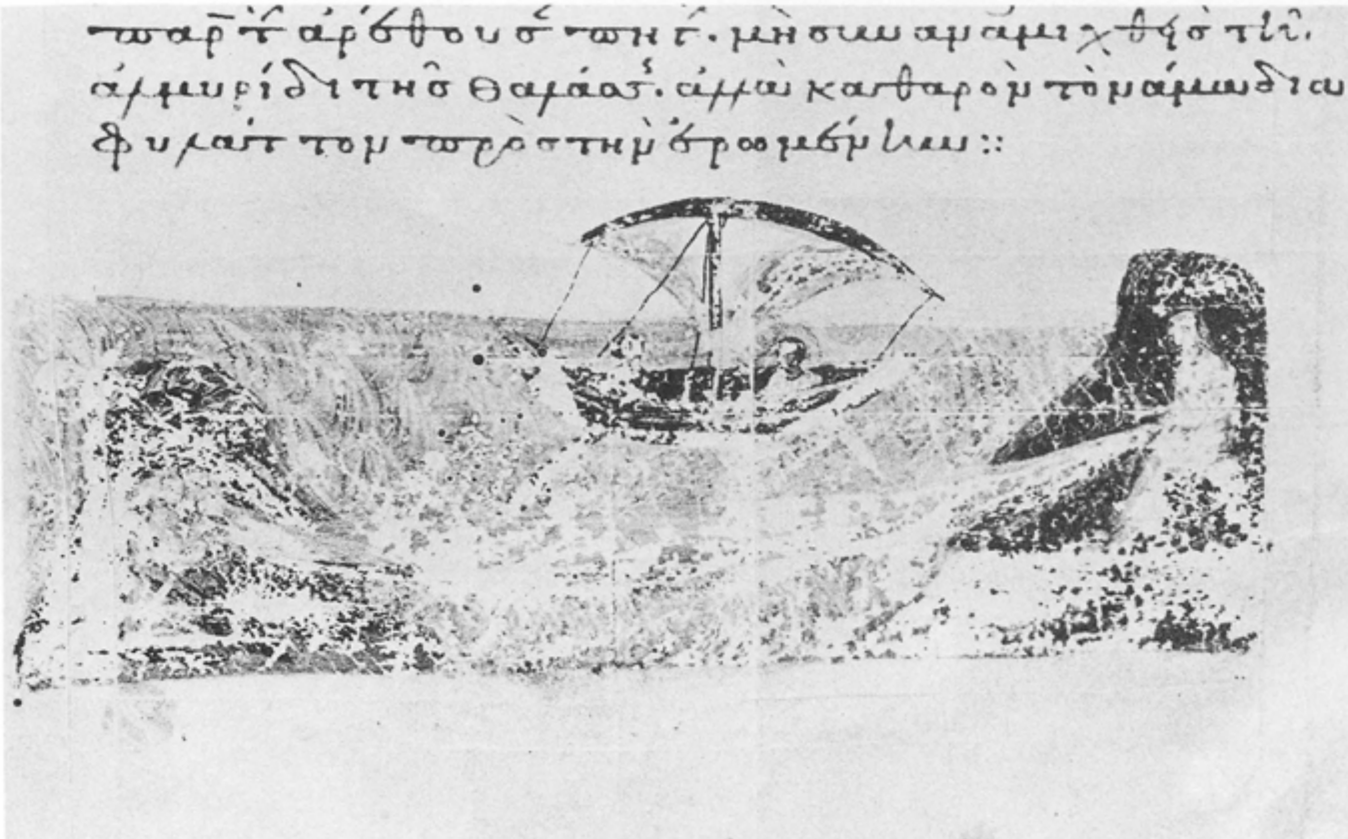
23. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 309ᵛ: Bellerophon



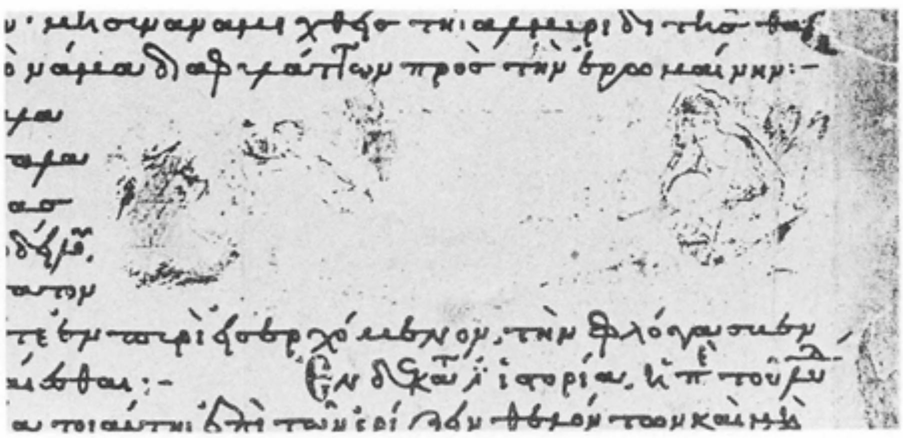
24. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 144ᵛ: Bellerophon



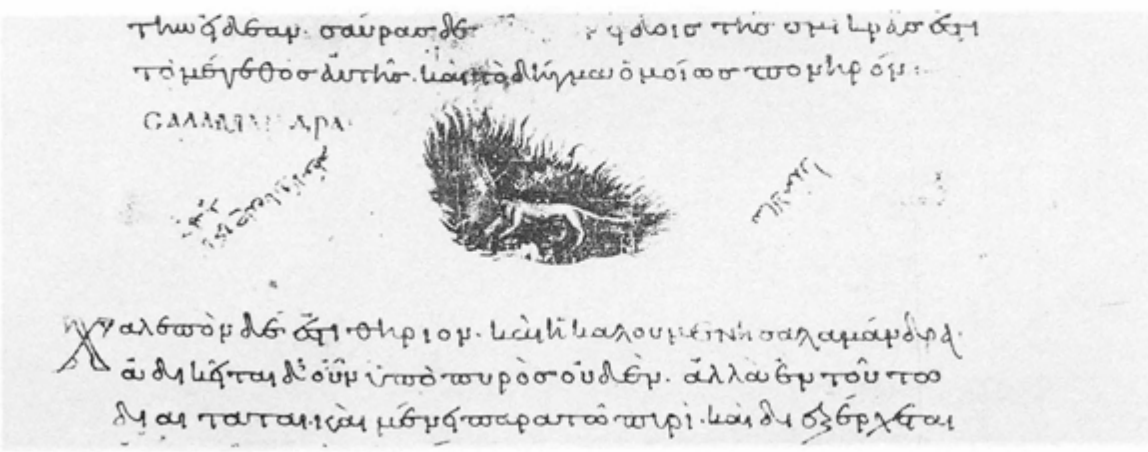
25. ROME, VILLA PAMFILI. Sarcophagus: Bellerophon



26. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 309v: Alpheus and Arethusa



27. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 144v: Alpheus and Arethusa



28. NEW YORK, MORGAN LIB. Cod. 652. Fol. 381r: Salamander



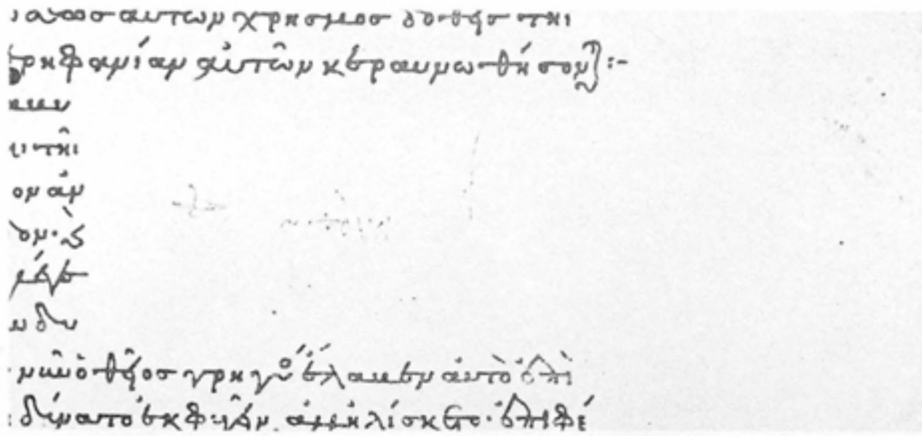
29. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 310^{r}: Orestes and Pylades



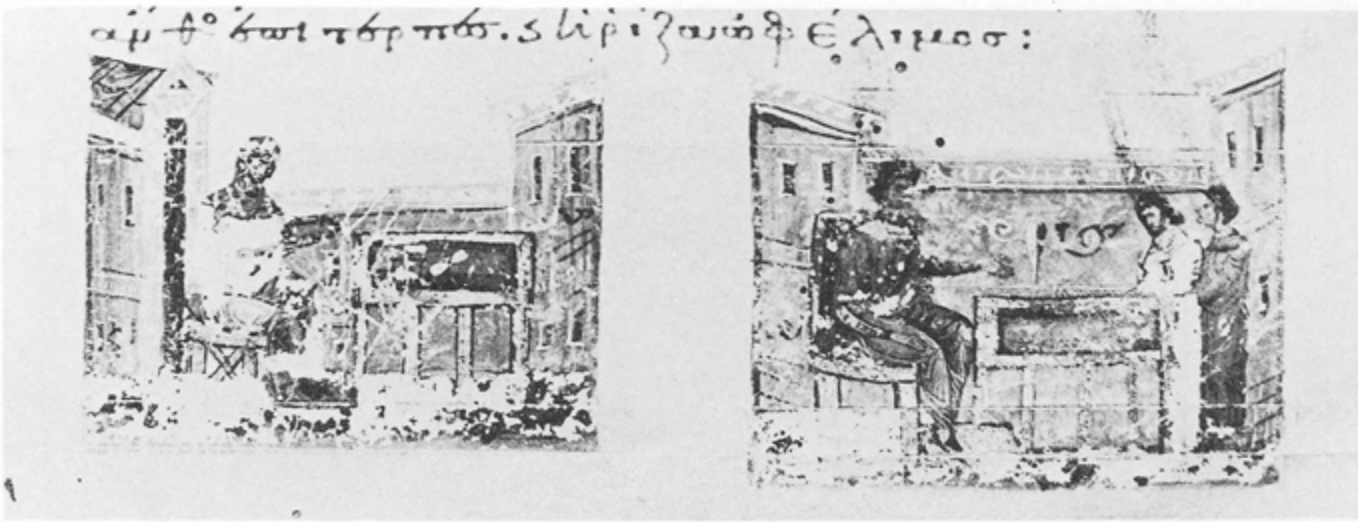
30. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 333. Fol. 43^{v}: Burial of Abner



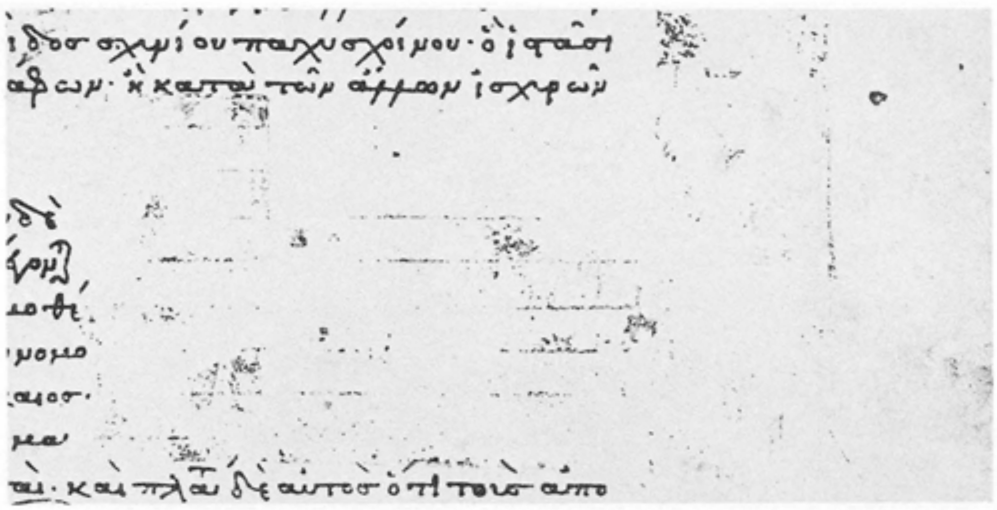
31. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 746. Fol. 488^{v}: Burial of Jephthah



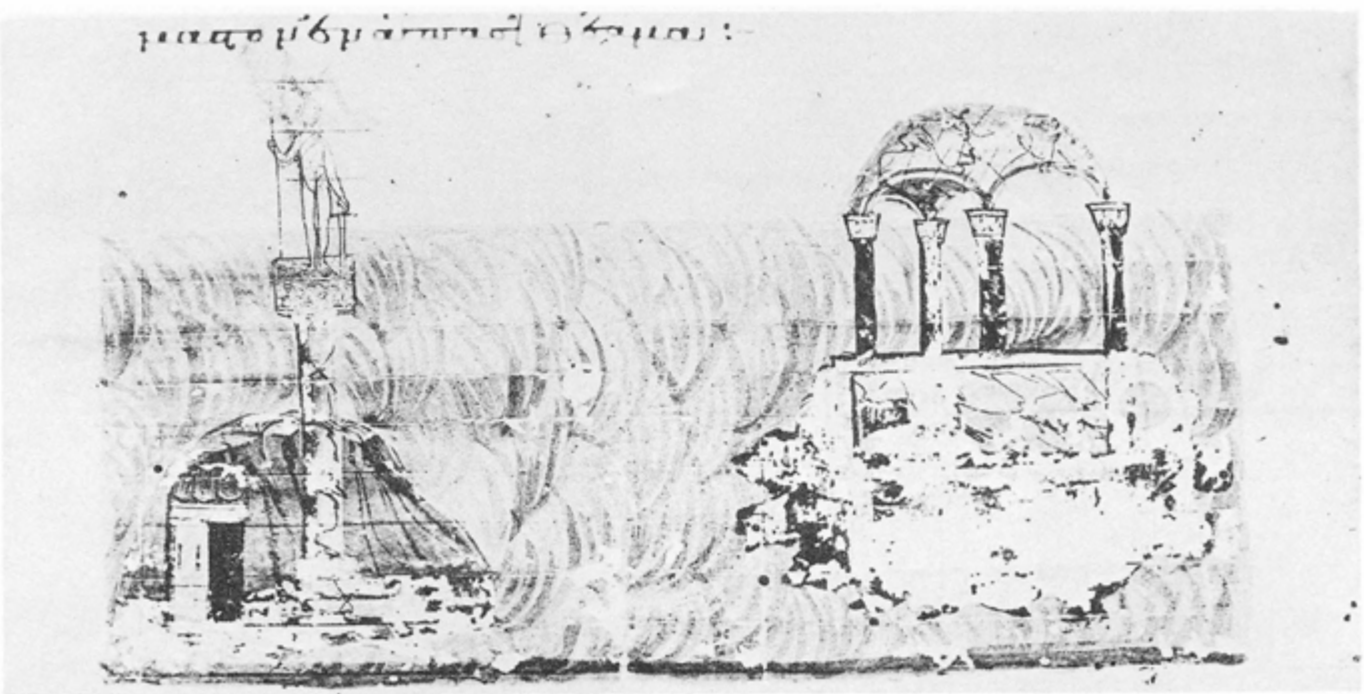
32. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 145^{r}: The Molionides



33. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 310r: Minos and Rhadamanthys



34. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 145r: Minos and Rhadamanthys



35. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 311r: Mausolus of Caria and the Colossus of Rhodes



36. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 310^{r}: Birth of Zeus



37. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 146^{r}: Birth of Zeus





38-39. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6. Fols. 162^{v}-163^{r}: Birth of Zeus





40-41. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 121r: Birth of Zeus





42-43. ROME, MUS. CAPIT. Marble base: Birth of Zeus



44. Vatican. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 146r: Cult of Rhea



45. Mt. Athos, Panteleimon. Cod. 6. Fol. 163r: Rhea



46. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 121r: Rhea



47. Paris, Cab. des Méd. Marble plaque: Rhea



48. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 146v: Persephone



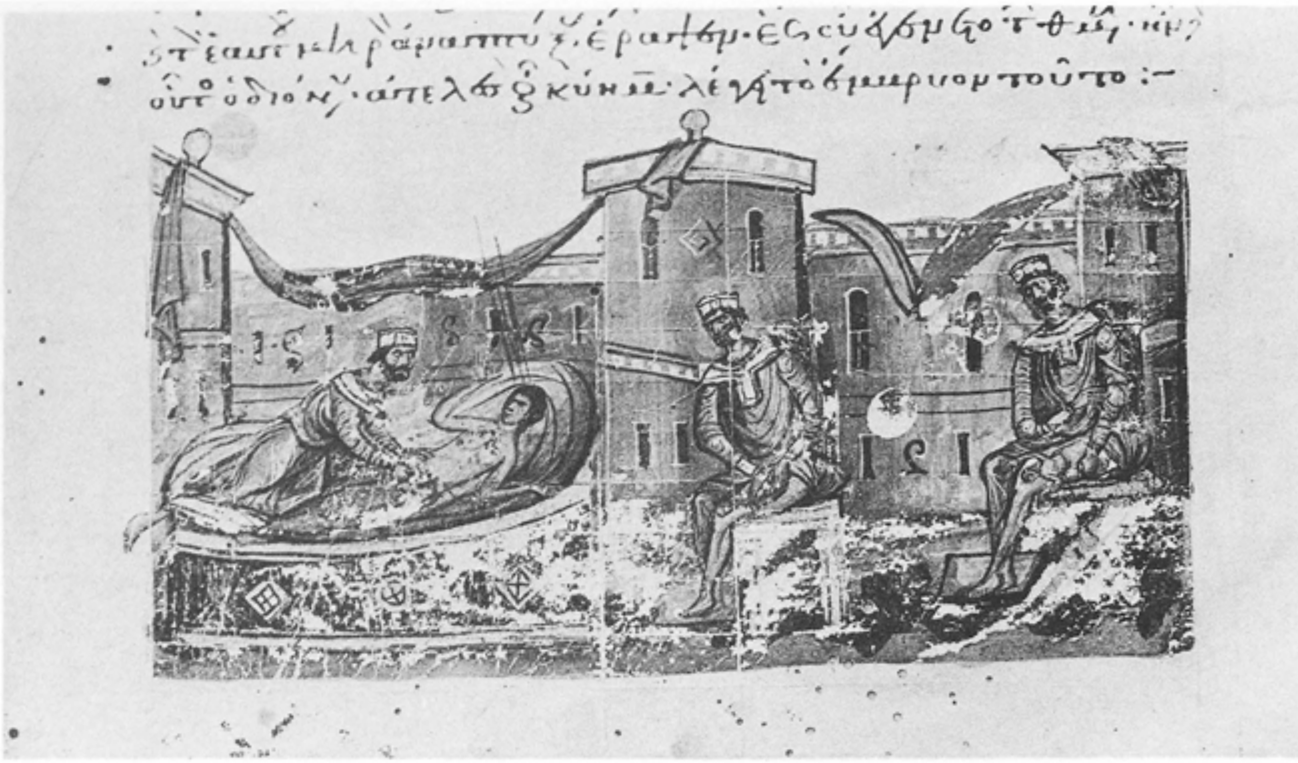
49. AACHEN, MÜNSTER. Sarcophagus: Persephone



50. WILTON HOUSE. Sarcophagus: Persephone



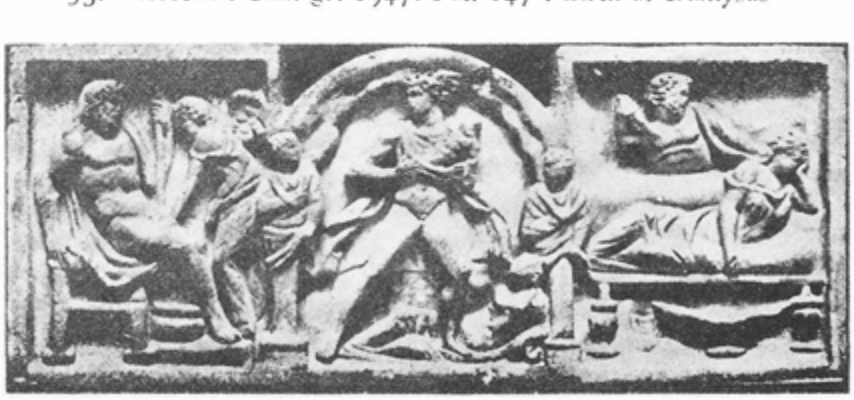
51. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239.
Fol. 121v: Persephone



52. Jerusalem. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 311r: Birth of Dionysus



53. Vatican. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 147r: Birth of Dionysus



54. Sagreb. Sarcophagus: Birth of Dionysus



55. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALL. Sarcophagus: Birth of Dionysus



56. ROME, CASA AUREA. Fresco: Birth of Dionysus



57. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 121ᵛ: Birth of Dionysus



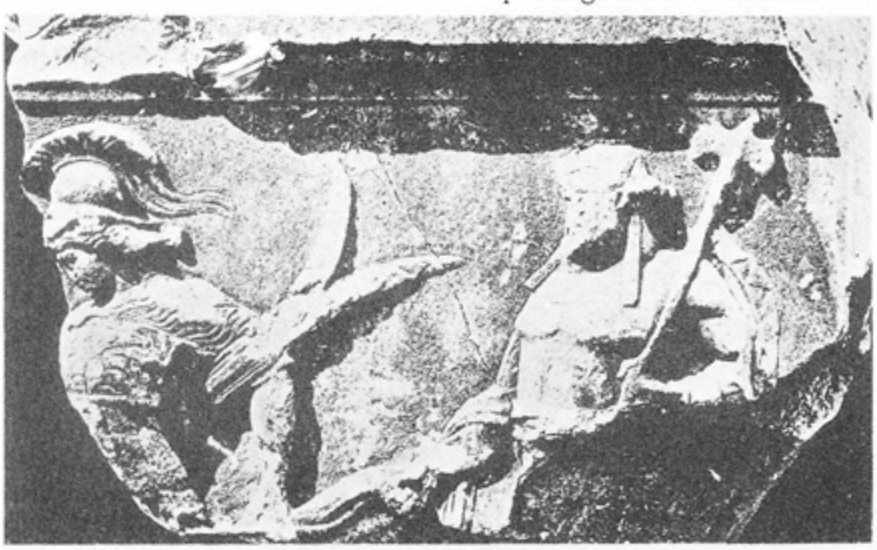
58. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6. Fol. 163ᵛ: Birth of Dionysus



59. Jerusalem. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 312r: Birth of Athena



60. London, Brit. Mus. Vase painting: Birth of Athena



61. Rome, Temple of Faustina. Athena and Hephaestus



62. Madrid. Puteale: Athena



63. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 147v: Birth of Aphrodite



64. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 121v: Birth of Aphrodite





65. ROME, CASA AUREA, Fresco: Birth of Aphrodite

66. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON, Cod. 6. Fol. 164r: Aphrodite and Artemis



67. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 148ʳ: The Scourges of the Lacedaemonians



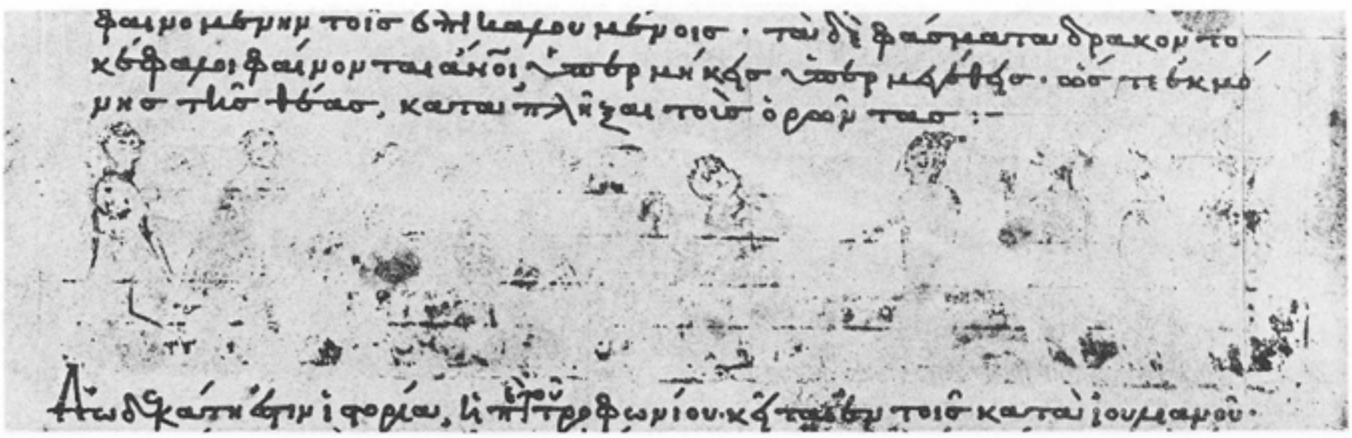
68. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6. Fol. 164ᵛ: Tantalus and Pelops



69. PARIS. BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 122ʳ: Tantalus and Pelops



70. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 312r: Hecate



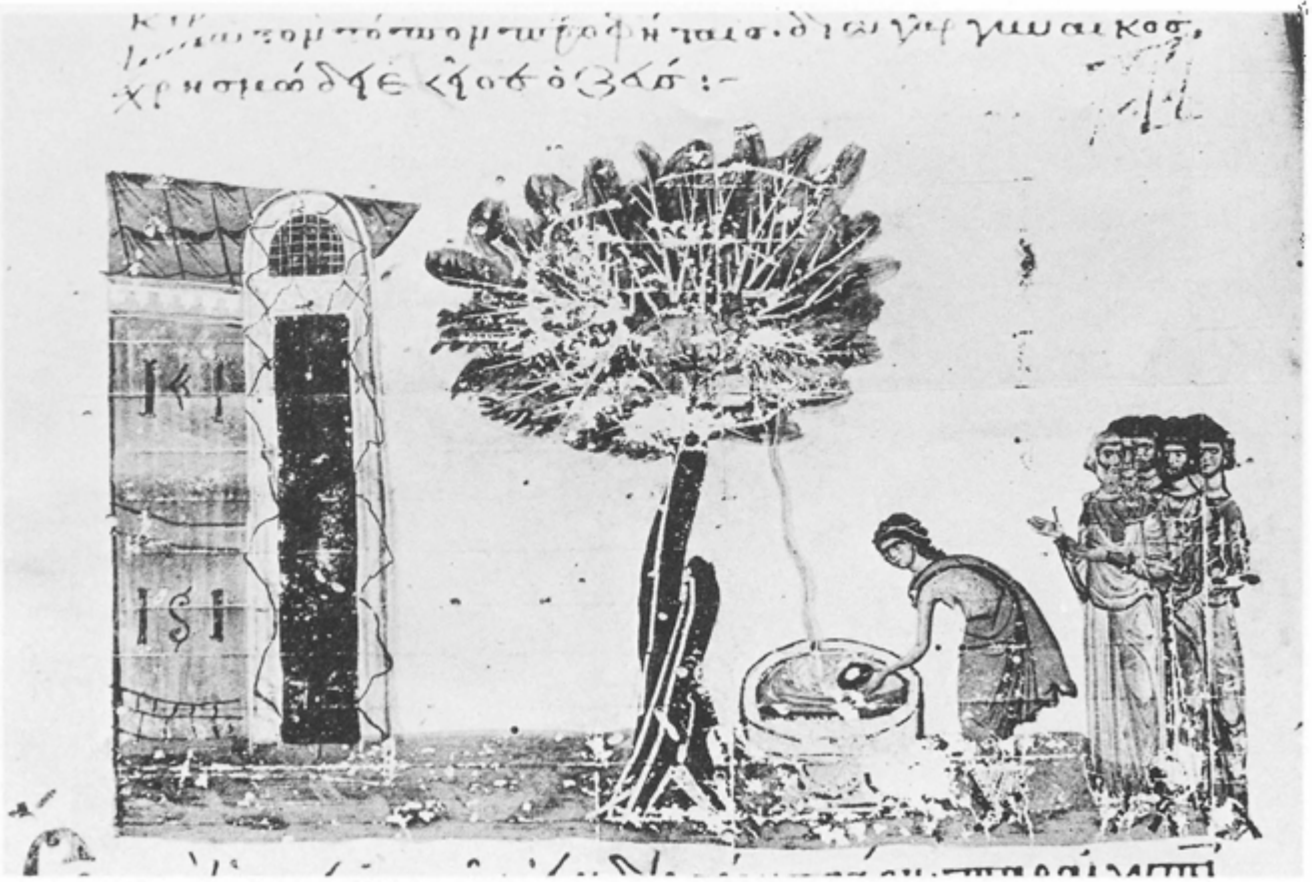
71. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 148v: Hecate



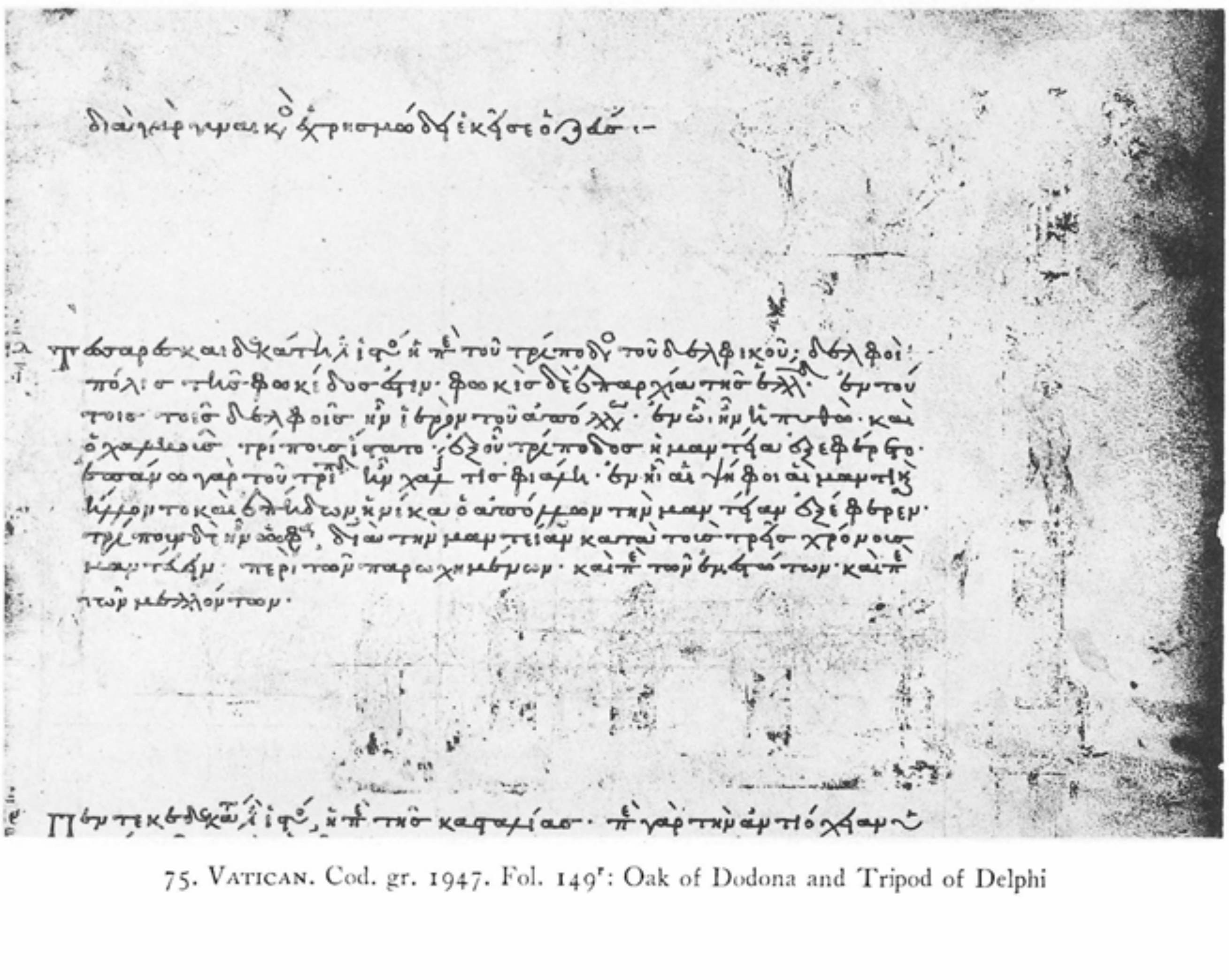
72. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 122r: Hecate



73. LONDON, BRIT. MUS. Cod. Cotton Vit. A. XV Fol. 100r: Cynocephalus



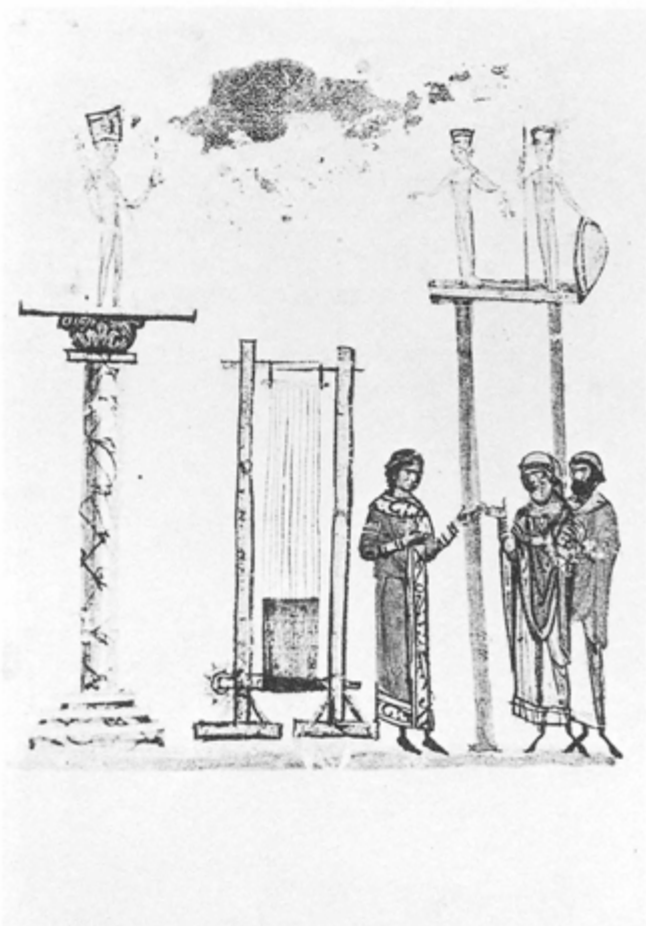
74. Jerusalem. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 312v: Oak of Dodona



75. Vatican. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 149r: Oak of Dodona and Tripod of Delphi



76. Fol. 99v: Castalian Spring

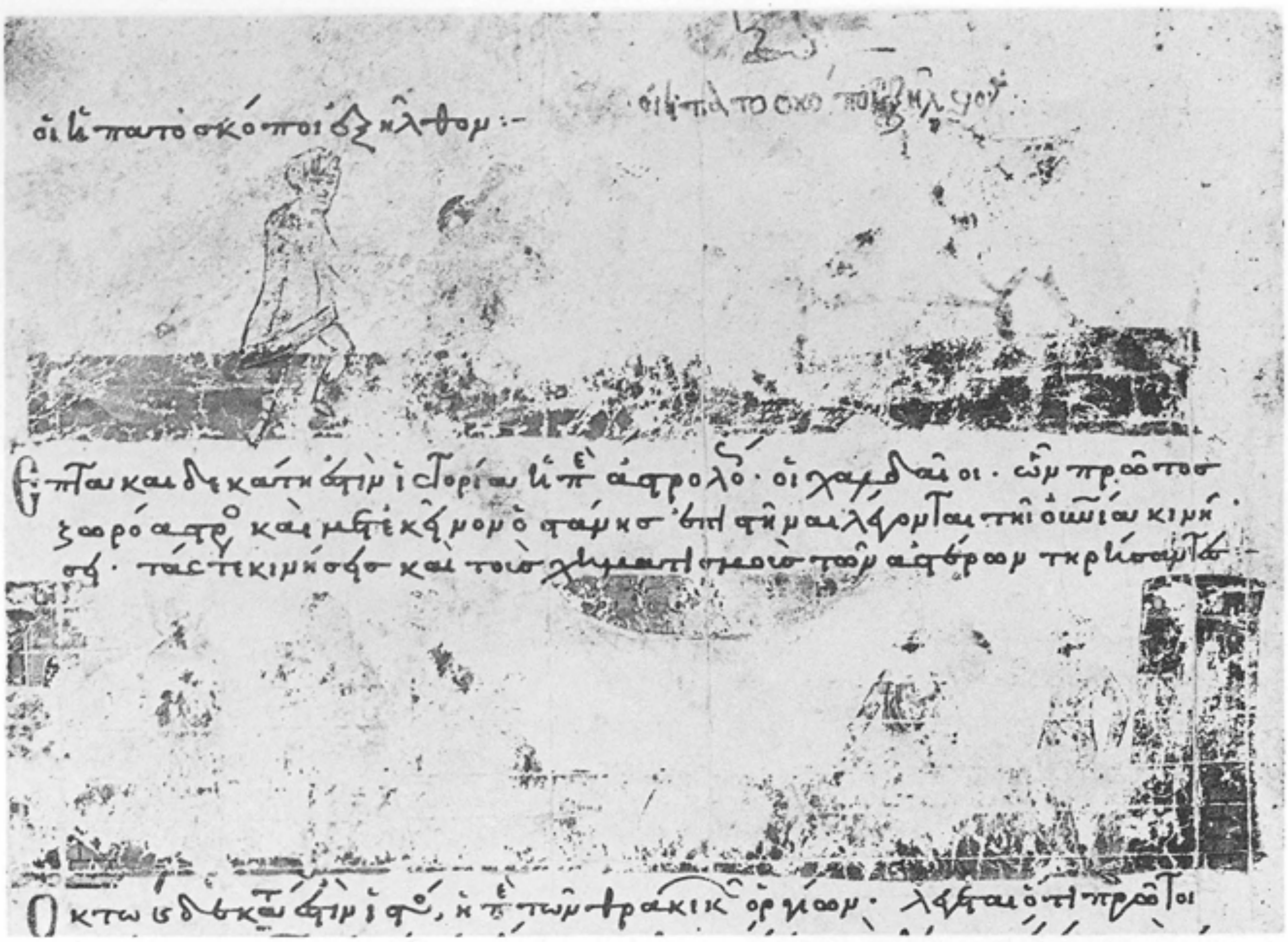


77. Fol. 100r: Priestess of Athena



78. Fol. 101r: Tripod of Delphi

76-78. Jerusalem. Cod. Taphou 14



79. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 149r: The Magi and the Chaldeans



80. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 239.
Fol. 122r: The Magi



81. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6.
Fol. 165r: The Chaldeans



82. Vatican. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 149v: Orpheus



83. Mt. Athos, Panteleimon. Cod. 6. Fol. 165r: Orpheus



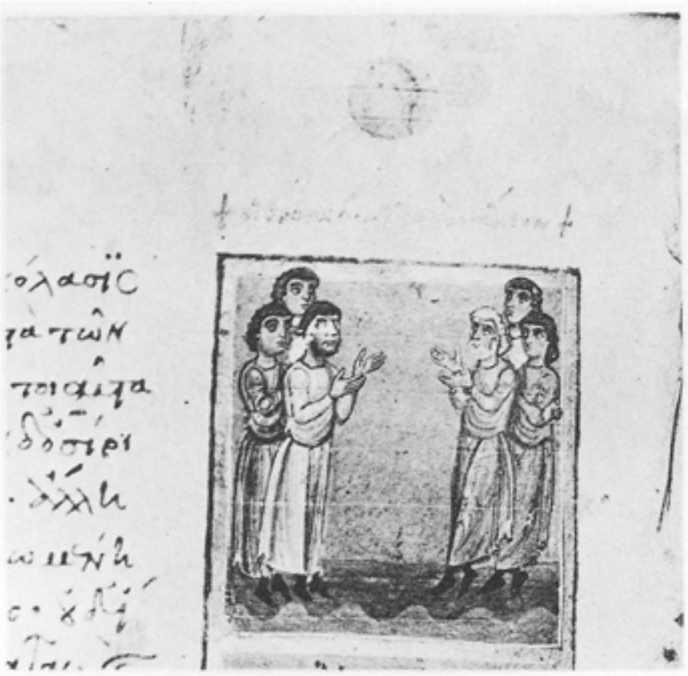
84. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 122v: Orpheus



85. Vatican. Cod. Barb. gr. 320 Fol. 2r: David



86. Oudna. Mosaic: Orpheus



87. Mt. Athos, Panteleimon. Cod. 6. Fol. 165ᵛ: Mithras



88. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Coislin 239. Fol. 122ᵛ: Isis



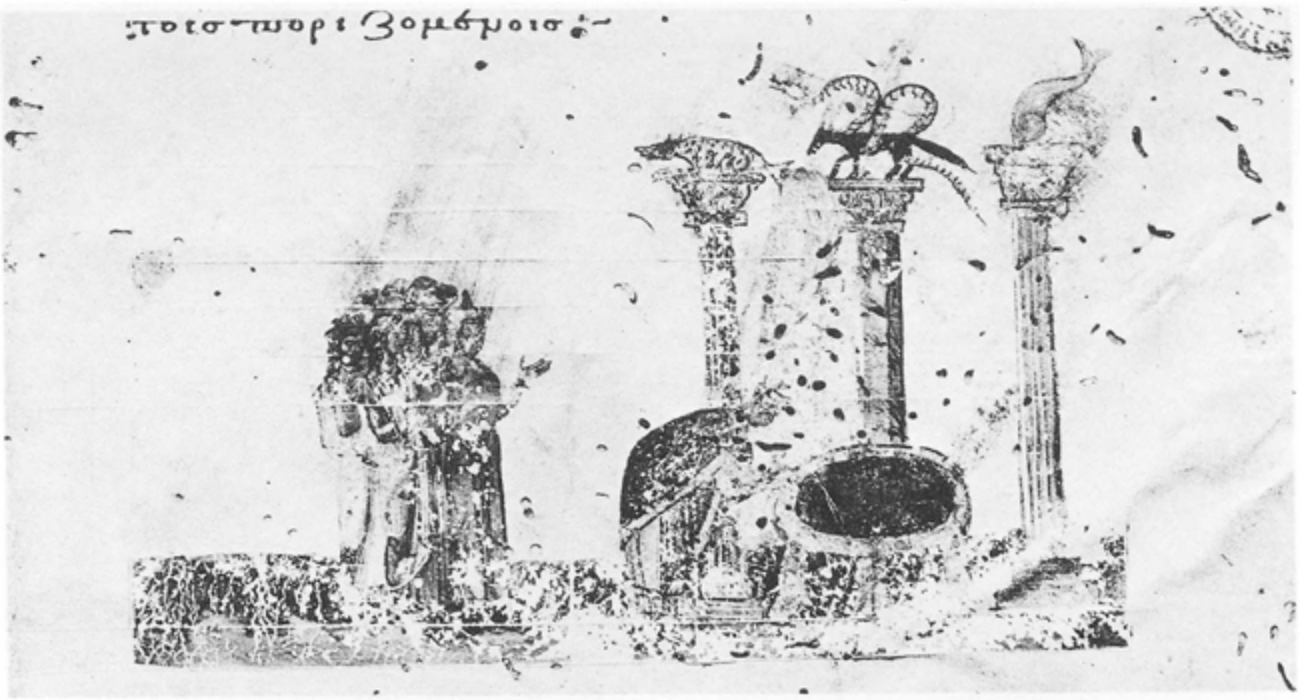
89. Jerusalem. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 313ʳ: Goat of Mendes



90. Vatican. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 150ᵛ: Goat of Mendes



91. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1947. Fol. 150^{v}: Apis



92. JERUSALEM. Cod. Taphou 14. Fol. 313^{r}: Egyptian Gods

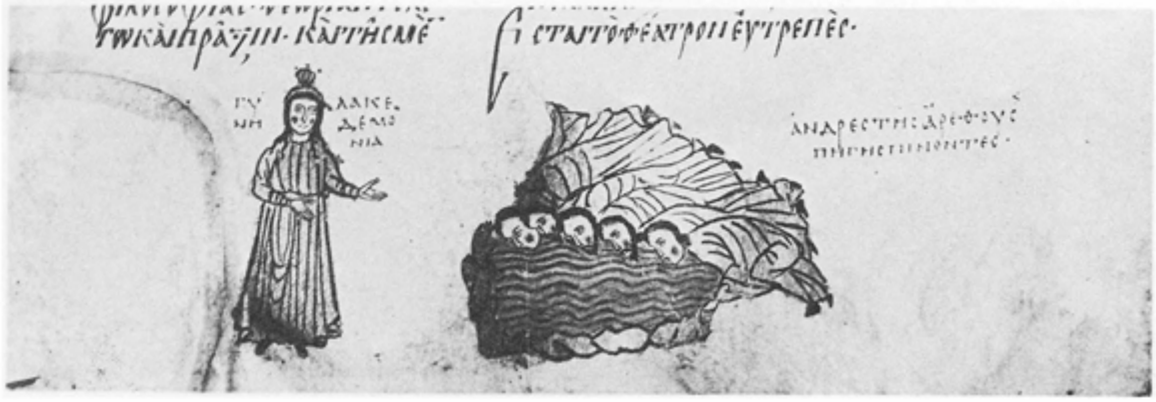


93. Fol. 165^{v}: Goat of Mendes



94. Fol. 164^{v}: Egyptian Gods

93-94. MT. ATHOS, PANTELEIMON. Cod. 6.



95. Pag. 749: The Lacedaemonian Woman and the Spring of Arethusa



96. Pag. 751: Orpheus and Homer



97. Pag. 752: Aphrodite



98. Pag. 755: Cronus and Uranus



99. Pag. 756: The Beef-eater

95-99. Milan, Ambros. Lib. Cod. E. 49-50 inf.



100. Fol. 1ʳ: Oppian before Caracalla



101. Fol. 2ʳ: Oppian's Invocation to Calliope



102. Fol. 19ʳ: Oppian's Invocation to Artemis

100-102. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479



103. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 8r: Xanthus



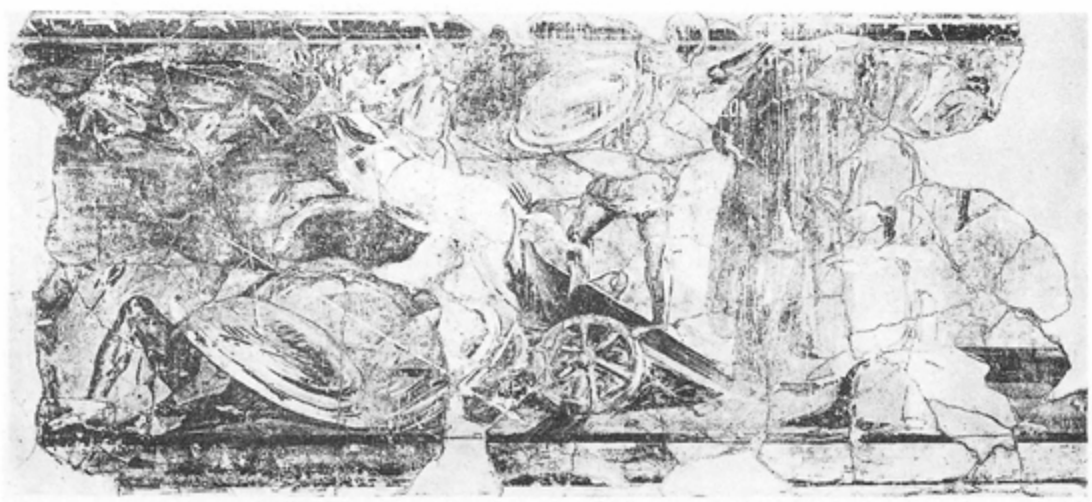
104. ROME, MUS. CAPIT. Tablet: *Iliad* XIX



105. NEW YORK, MET. MUS. Tablet: *Iliad* XIX



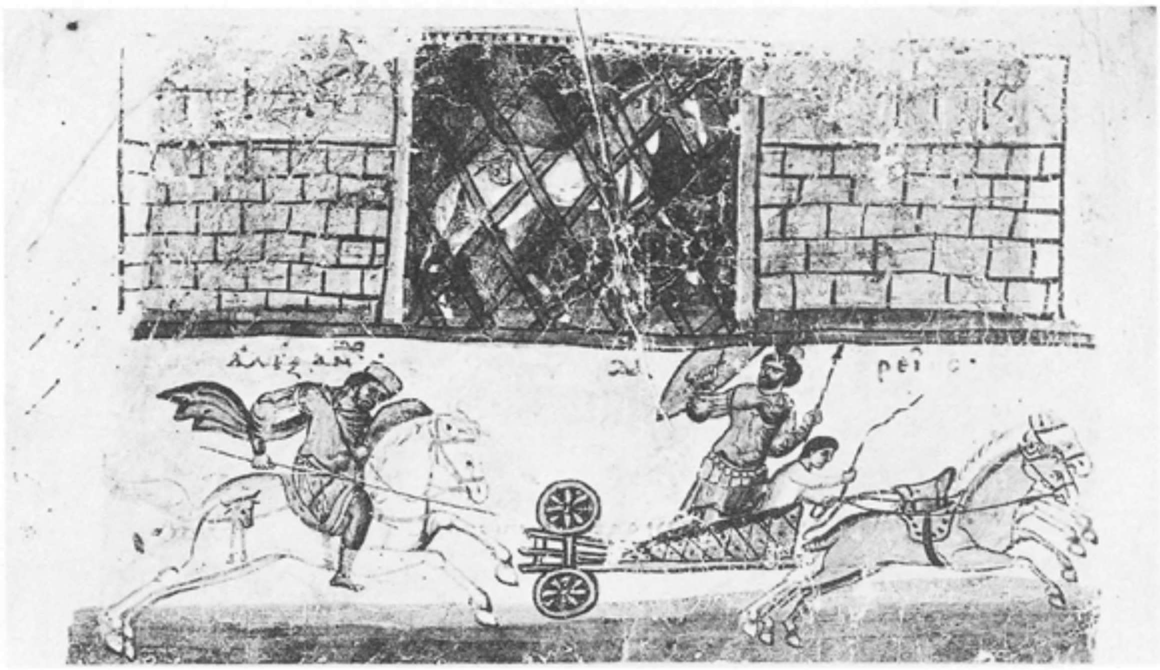
106. PARIS, CAB. DES MÉD. Tablet: *Iliad* XIX



107. POMPEII, CASA DI LOREIO TIBURTINO. Fresco: Xanthus



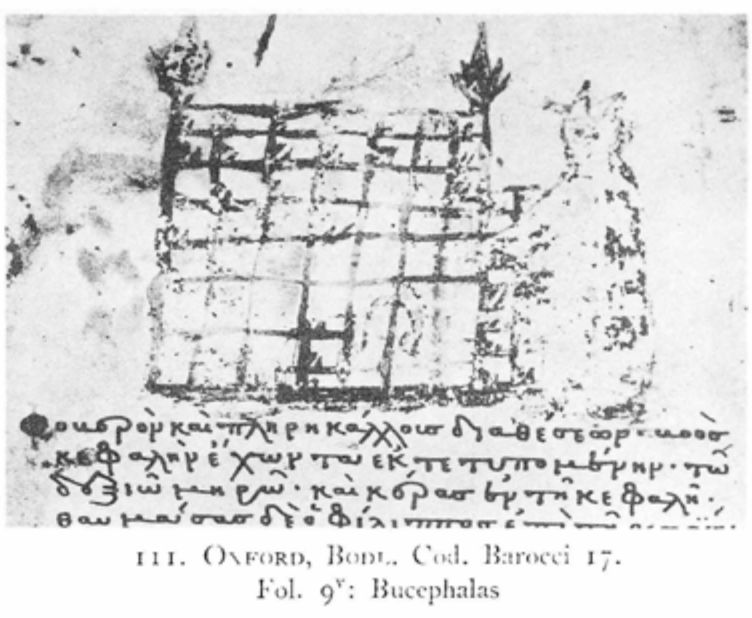
108. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 8r: Bucephalas



109. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 8v: Bucephalas



110. ROME, MUS. CAPIT.
Tablet: Bucephalas



111. OXFORD, BODL. Cod. Barocci 17.
Fol. 9v: Bucephalas



112. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479.
Fol. 8v: Bellerophon



113. London, Brit. Mus.
Ivory: Bellerophon



114. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 12ᵛ: Bridal Scene



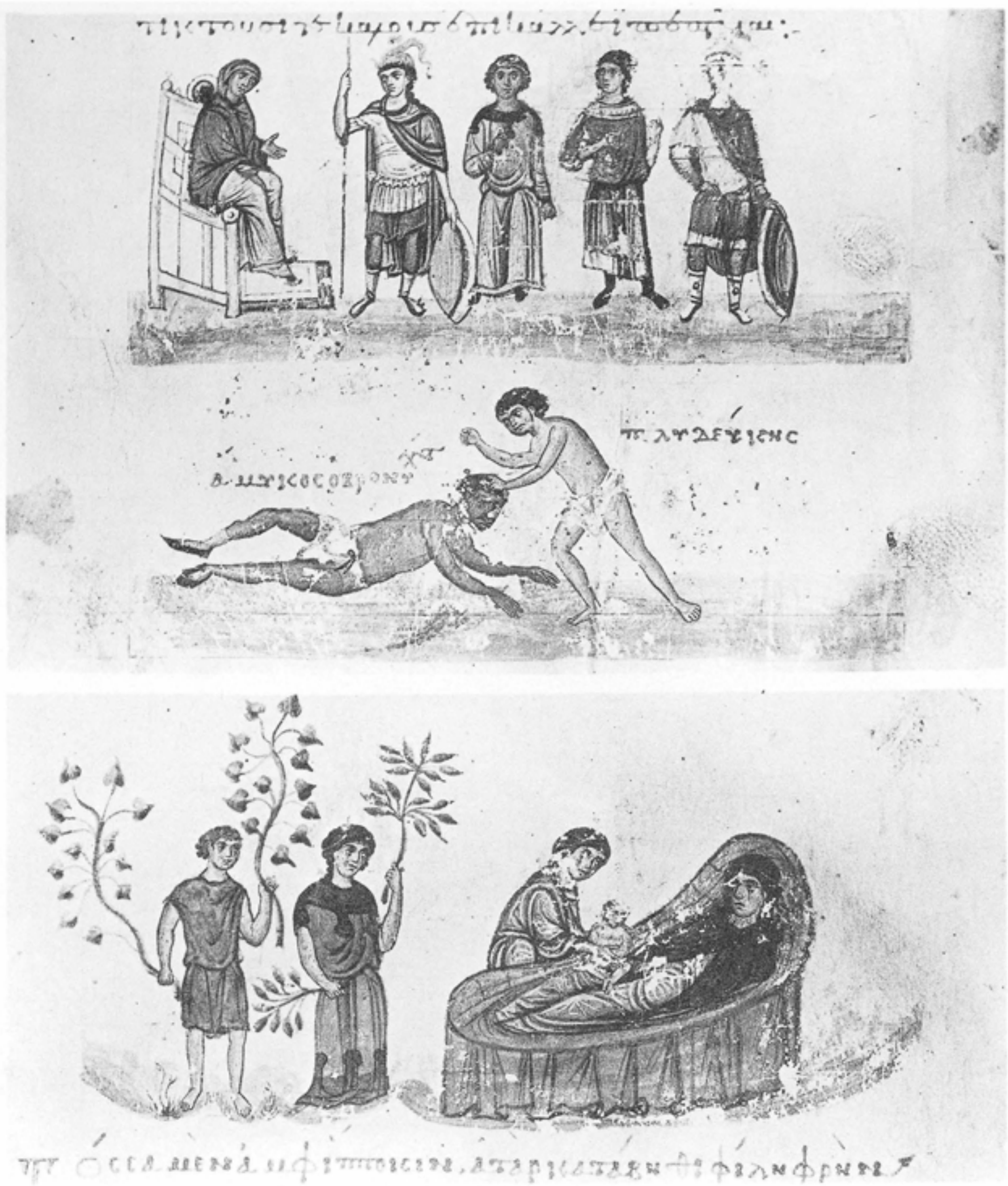
115. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 699. Fol. 114ᵛ: Hezekiah



116. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 755. Fol. 107ʳ: Orthros



117. LONDON, BRIT. MUS. Relief: Maenad



118-119. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fols. 13^v-14^r: Laconian Woman



120. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. gr. 580. Fol. 2^v: Saint



121. VIENNA, NAT. LIB. Cod. hist. gr. 6. Fol. 3^v: Saint



122. VATICAN, MUS. SARCOPHAGUS: Birth of Dionysus



123. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 19r: Centaur and Satyrs



124. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 19v: Perseus and Gorgon



125. BUDAPEST, MUS. Sarcophagus: Perseus and Gorgon



126. HERCULANEUM. Fresco: Perseus and Gorgon



127. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 19v: Perseus Capturing Hare



128. Fol. 19ᵛ: Castor Hunting



129. Fol. 20ʳ: Polydeuces Hunting and Boxing

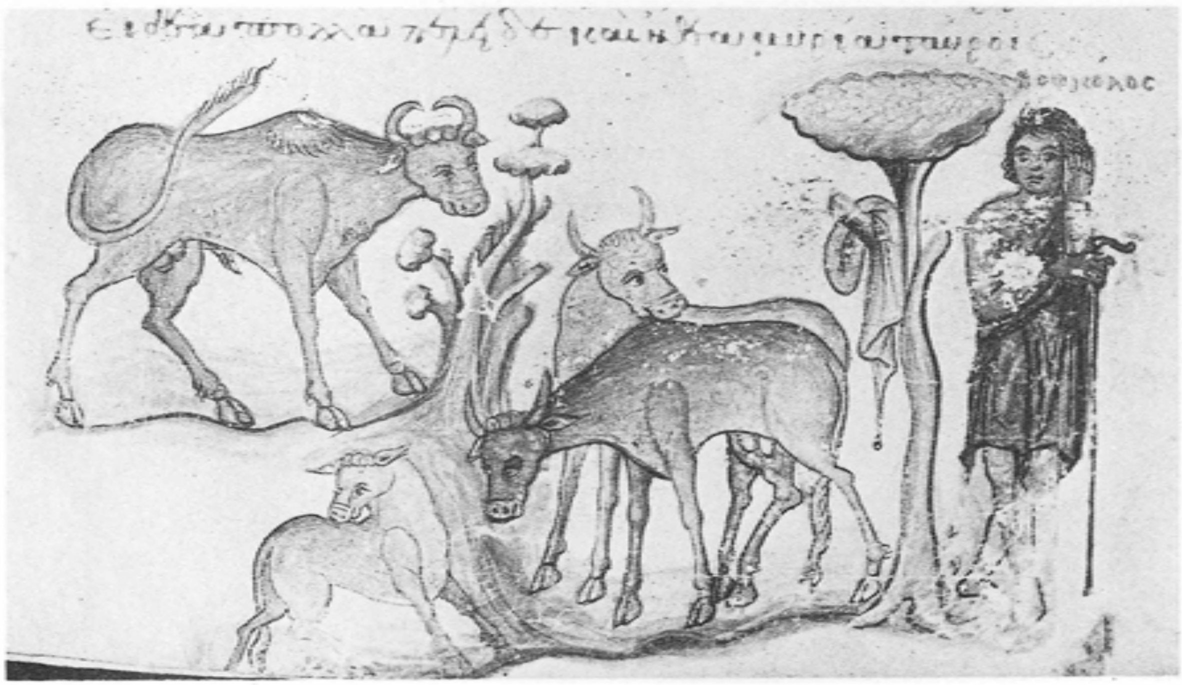


130. Fol. 20ʳ: Hippolytus Hunting

128-130. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479



131. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 20ᵛ: Orion and Atalanta



132. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479.
Fol. 22ʳ: Bucolic



133. Vatican. Cod. lat. 3867.
Fol. 44ᵛ: Bucolic



134. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 23^{r}: Naumachy



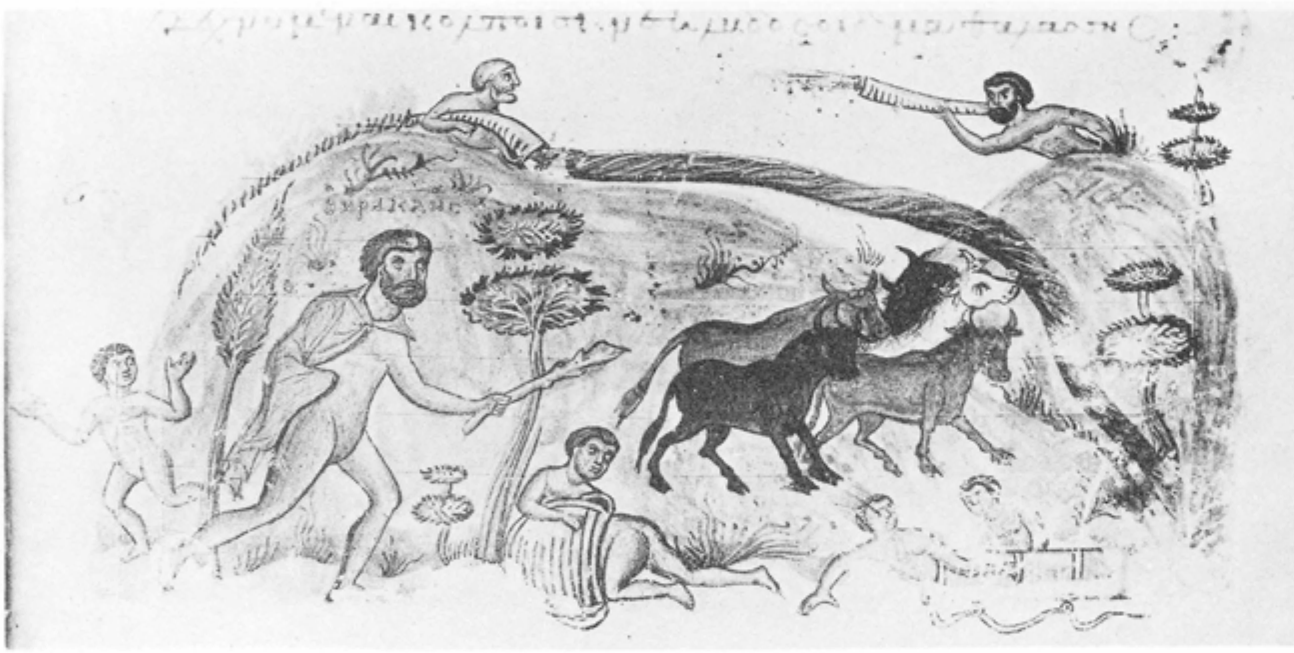
135. MADRID, BIBL. NAC. Cod. 5-3 N-2.
Fol. 41^{r}: Naval Battle



136. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. gr. 139.
Fol. 1^{v}: Mount Bethlehem



137. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 23^{v}: Apamea



138. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 24r: Heracles and the Kine of Geryon



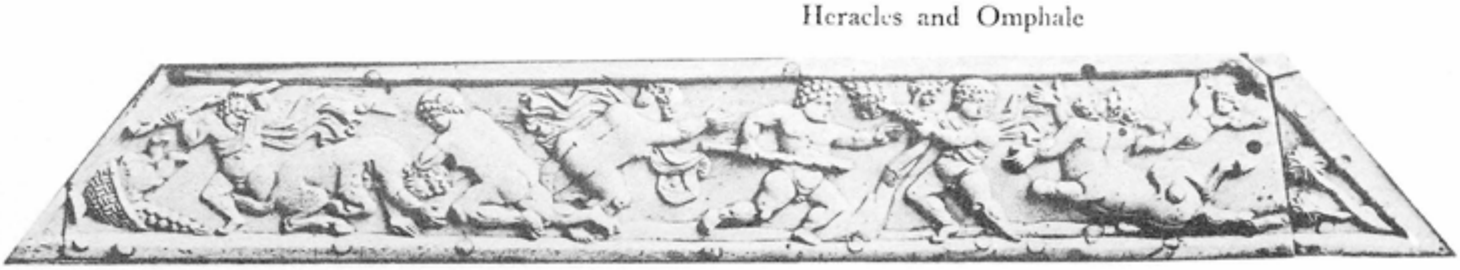
139. Coin from Perinthus: Geryon Adventure



140. Coin from Alexandria: Geryon Adventure



141. POMPEII, CASA DI SIRICO. Fresco: Heracles and Omphale



142. PARIS, LOUVRE. Ivory casket: Heracles Adventures



143. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 33r: Power of Eros



144. MILAN, AMBROS. LIB.
Cod. F. 205 inf.
Pict. XIX: Athena



145. TARRAGONA. Sarcophagus:
Hermes



146. POMPEII, CASA DEGLI EPIGRAMMI.
Fresco: Pan and Eros



147. Fol. 39^{r}: Phineus and the Harpies



148. Fol. 39^{r}: Zetes and Calais Pursuing the Harpies
147–148. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 749



149. RUVO, COLL. JATTA. Amphora: Pursuing of the Harpies



150. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 40r: Rhea with the Child Zeus



151-152. Coins from Laodicaea: Rhea with the Child Zeus



153. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 40r: Rhea



154. BERLIN, MUSEUM. Relief: Dionysus and Ariadne



155. VENICE, MUS. CIV.
Ivory: Dionysus



156. PARIS, LOUVRE.
Ivory: Dancer



157. Fol. 42ʳ: Maenad



158. Fol. 42ᵛ: Sack of a City

157-158. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479



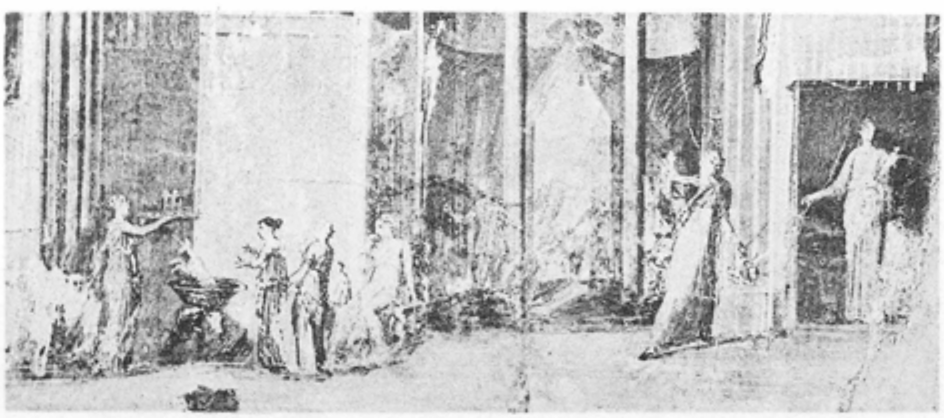
159. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 47^{r}: Jealousy



160. Rome, Villa Albani.
Relief: Theseus



161. London, Brit. Mus.
Relief: Theseus



162. Naples, Mus. Naz. Fresco from Pompeii: Medea



163. London, Brit. Mus.
Gem: Medea



164. Fol. 61ᵛ: The Child Dionysus Brought to Euboea



165. Fol. 62ʳ: Aristaeus and Childhood of Dionysus



166. Fol. 63ʳ: Pentheus and Maenads

164-166. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. 479



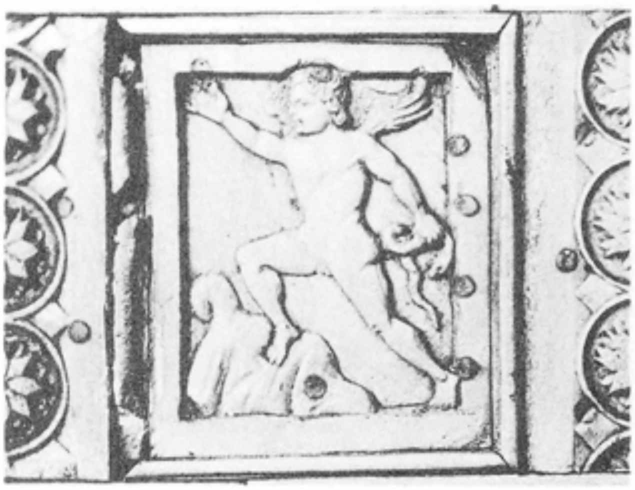
167. MADRID, MUS. ARQU. Ivory: Pelops and Oenomaus



168. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALL. Ivory: Polydeuces and Amycus(?)



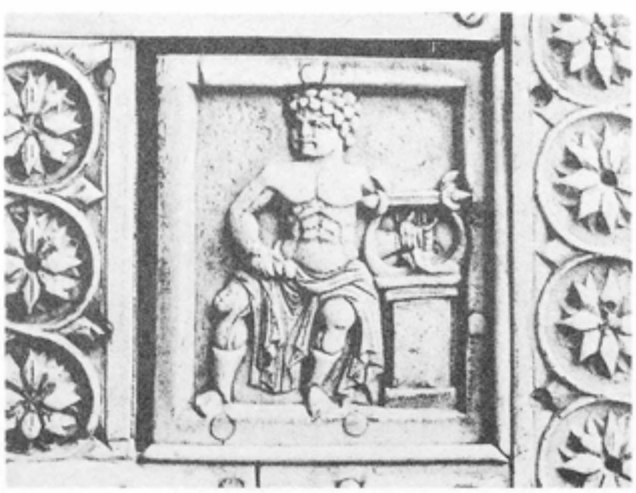
169. POMPEII. Fresco: Triptolemus



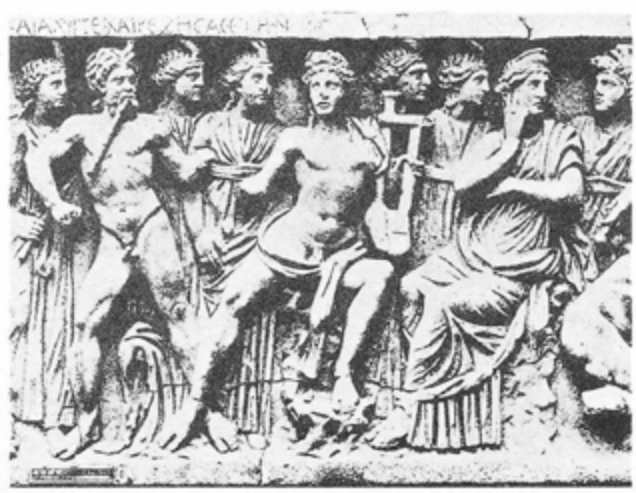
170. NEW YORK, MET. MUS. Ivory: Triptolemus



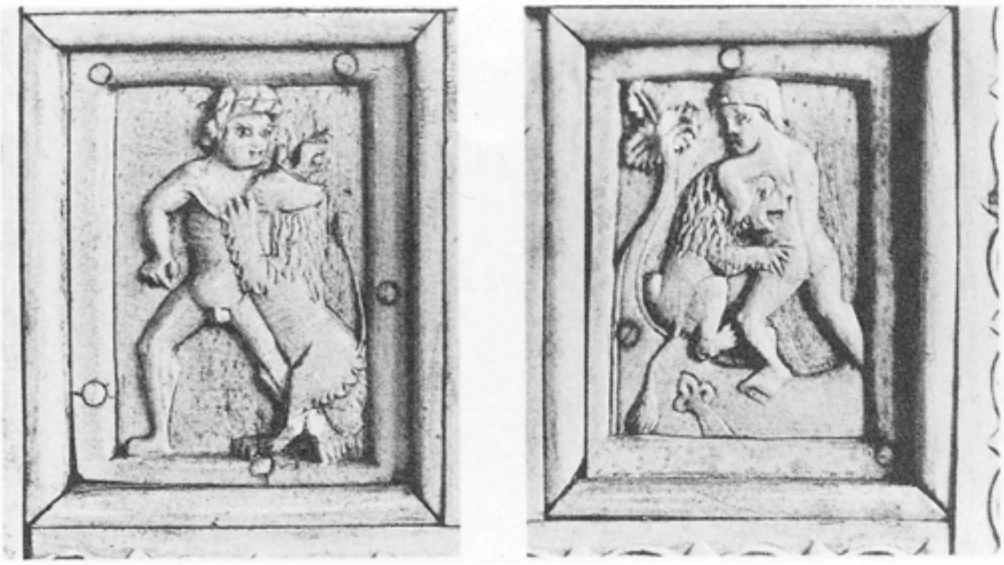
171. CIVIDALE, MUS. ARCH. Ivory: Triptolemus



172. PARIS, LOUVRE. Ivory: Apollo or Orpheus(?)



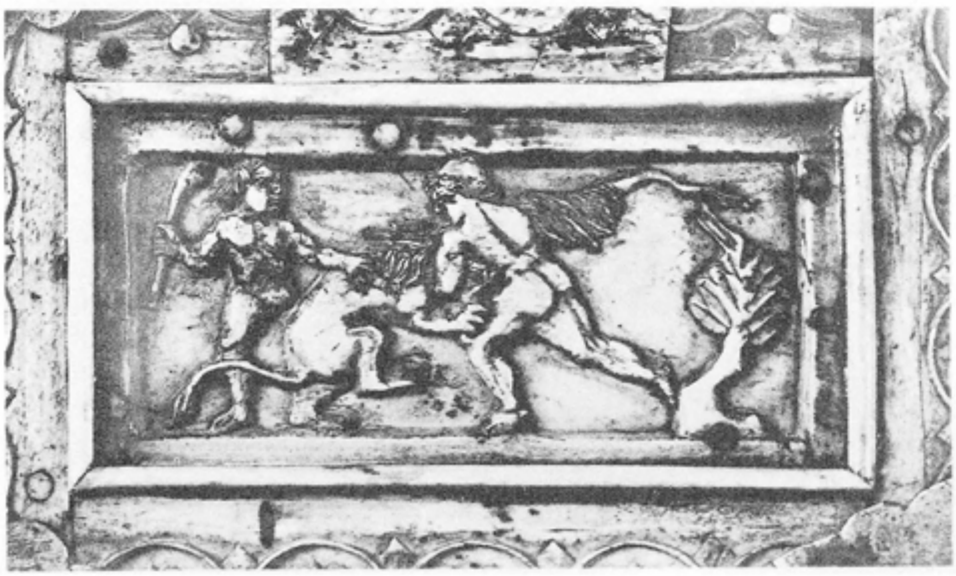
173. COPENHAGEN, NY CARLSB. Sarcophagus: Apollo



174-175. PARIS, PETIT PALAIS. Ivory: Heracles and Lion



176. LONDON, BRIT. MUS. Sarcophagus: Heracles



177. AREZZO, MUS. Ivory: Heracles and Lion



178. FLORENCE, UFFIZI. Sarcophagus: Heracles



179. PARIS, CLUNY. Ivory: Heracles



180. ANAGNI, CATHEDRAL. Silver relief: Heracles



181. London, Oppenheimer.
Ivory: Heracles and Hind



182. Florence, Uffizi:
Sarcophagus: Heracles



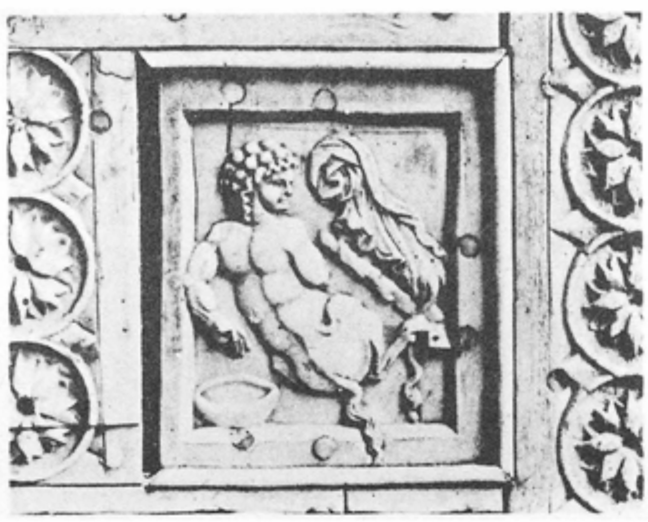
183. Paris, Louvre. Ivory: Heracles and Centaur



184. Rome. Fresco: Heracles and Centaur



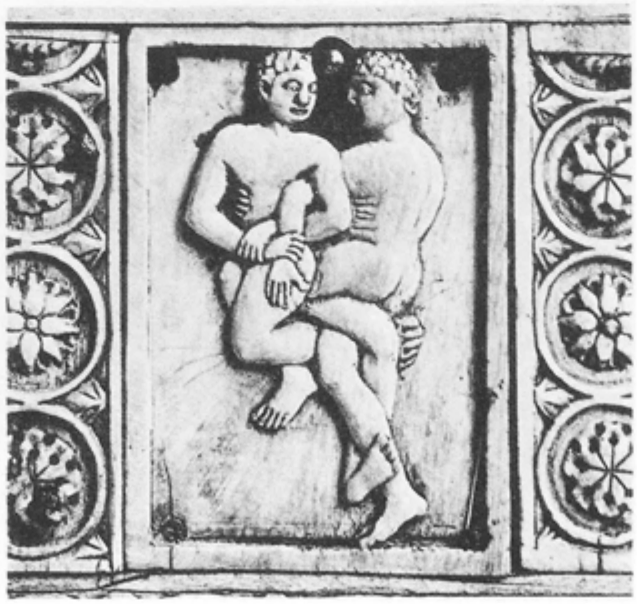
185. Cividale, Mus. Arch.
Ivory: Centaur



186. Paris, Louvre.
Ivory: Chiron (?)



187. CIVIDALE, MUS. ARCH. Ivory: Heracles and Antaeus



188. LYON, CATHEDRAL. Ivory: Heracles and Antaeus



189. XANTEN, S. VICTOR. Ivory: Resting Heracles





190-191. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALL. Ivory: Heracles and Stymphalian Birds



192. ROME. Fresco: Heracles and Antaeus



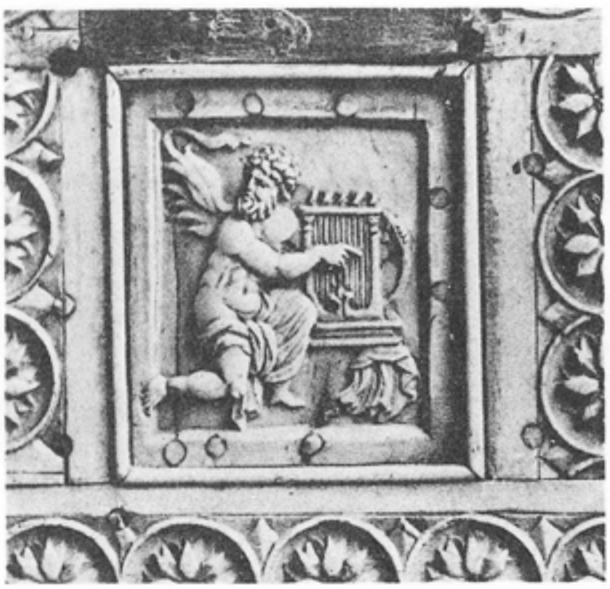
193. ROME, MUS. CAPIT. Relief: Heracles



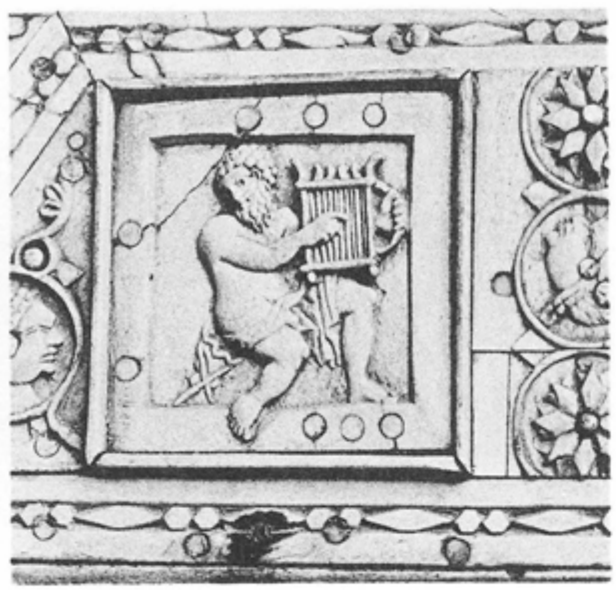
194. DARMSTADT, MUS. Ivory: Heracles and Diomedes



195. LONDON, BRIT. MUS. Sarcophagus: Heracles and Diomedes



196. PARIS, LOUVRE. Ivory: Heracles



197. FLORENCE, MUS. NAZ. Ivory: Heracles



198. ROME, Tomb: Stucco: Heracles



199. LONDON, V. AND A. MUS. Ivory: Drunken Heracles



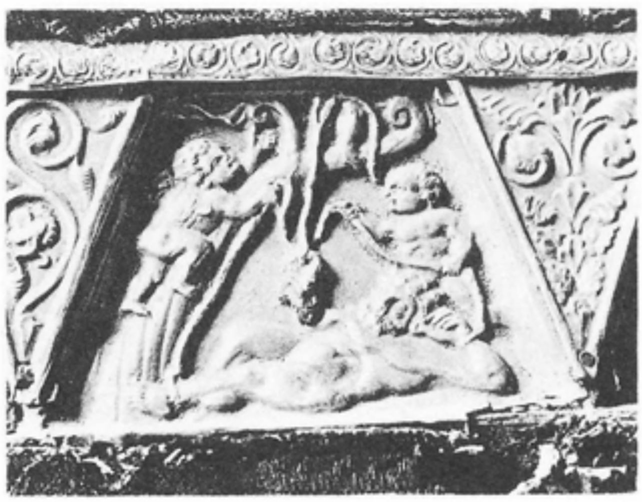
200. NAPLES, MUS. NAZ. Fresco: Heracles and Omphale



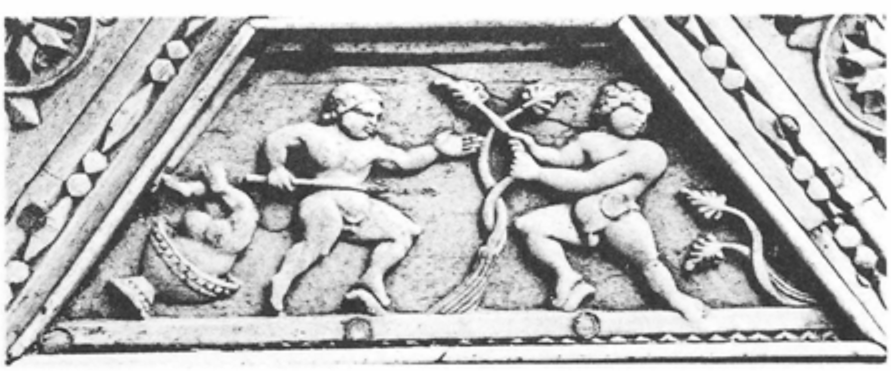
201. FLORENCE, MUS. NAZ. Ivory: Putto



202. HALLESCHES HEILTUM. Drawing: Fettered Heracles



203. ANAGNI, CATHEDRAL. Silver relief: Fettered Heracles



204. FLORENCE, MUS. NAZ. Ivory: Putti



205. Paris, Cluny. Ivory: Achilles and Chiron



206. Paris, Le Roy. Ivory: Achilles and Chiron



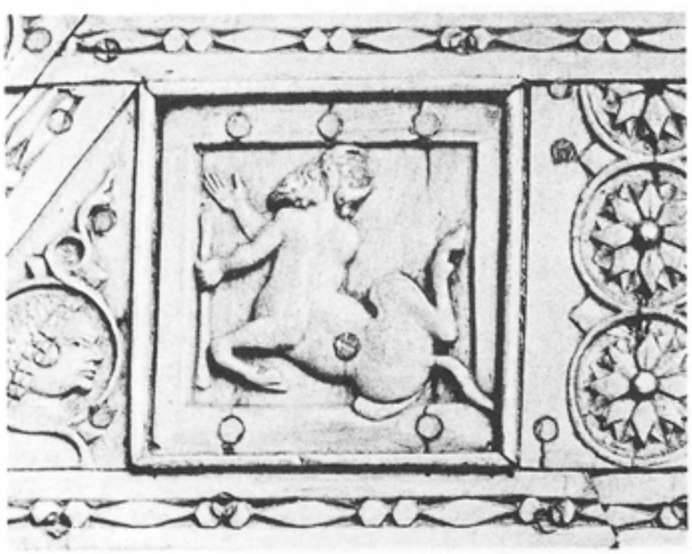
207. Rome, Pal. Conserv. Tensa: Achilles and Chiron



208. Paris, Louvre. Ivory: Achilles and Chiron



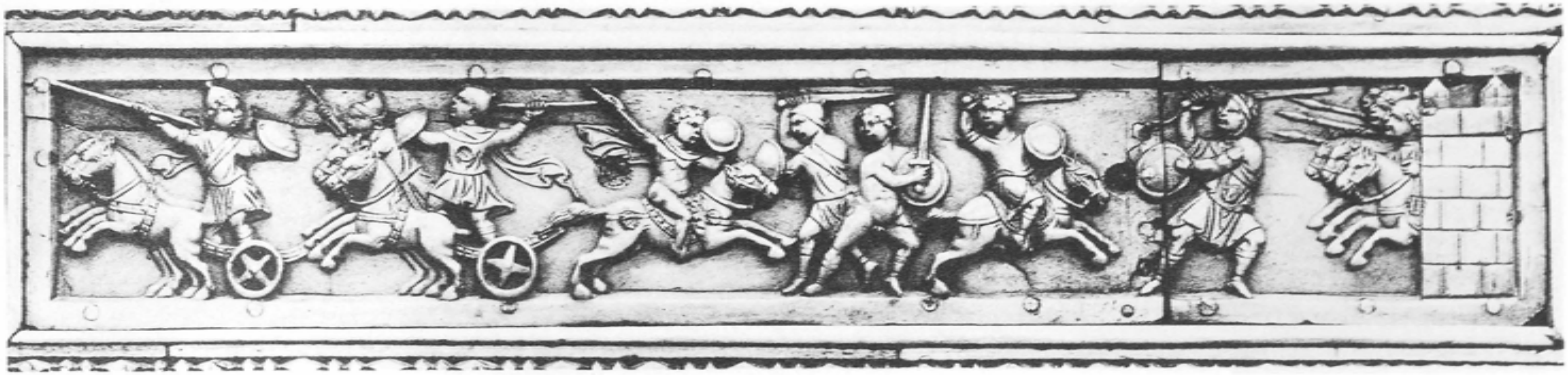
209. Rome, Mus. Capit. Marble disk: Achilles and Chiron



210. Florence, Mus. Naz. Ivory: Chiron



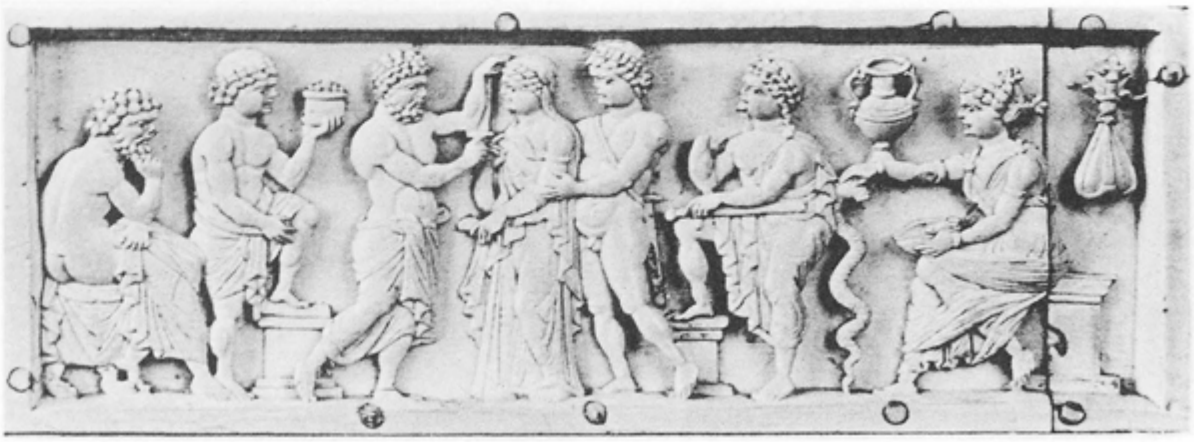
211. Leningrad. Sarcophagus: Achilles and Chiron



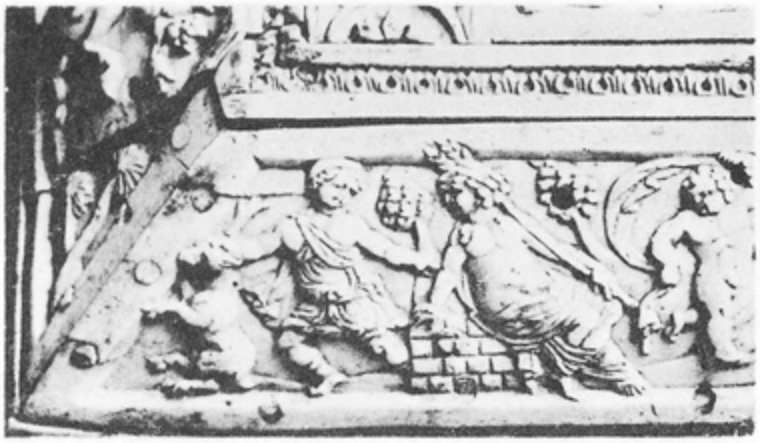
212. Paris, Cluny. Ivory: Battle Scene from *Iliad* xi



213a-c. Athens, Nat. Mus. Megarian bowl: Battle Scene from *Iliad* xi



214. LONDON, VICT. AND ALB. MUS. Ivory: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



215. PARIS, LOUVRE.
Ivory: Artemis



216. PARIS, LOUVRE.
Ivory: Menelaus



217. FLORENCE, UFFIZI. Altar: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



218. TERMESSOS. Relief: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



219. Liverpool Mus. Ivory: Hippolytus





220-221. Dresden, Grünes Gew. Ivory: Hippolytus



222. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



223. Istanbul, Mus. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



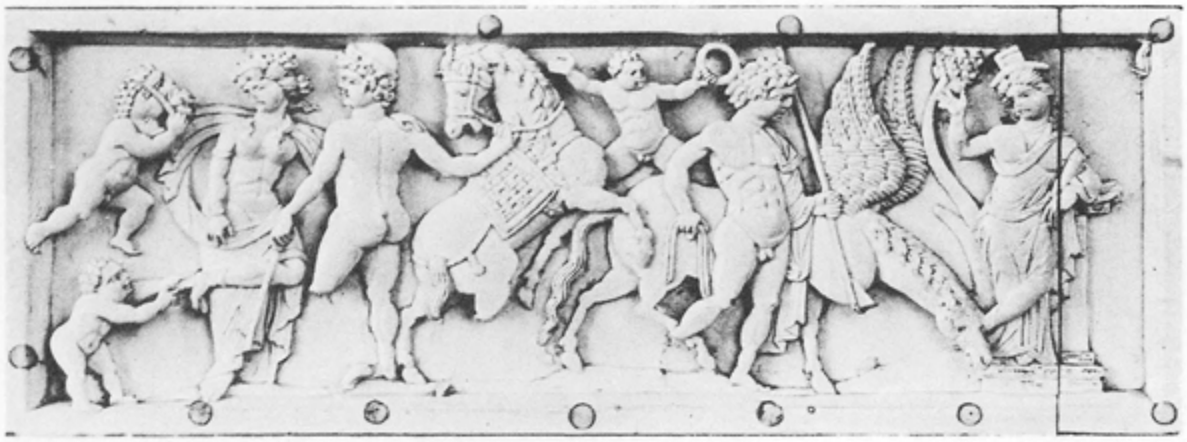
224. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



225. Anagni, Cathedral. Silver relief: Hippolytus



226. Florence, Uffizi. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



227. London, Vict. and Alb. Mus. Ivory: Bellerophon



228. Athens, Nat. Mus. Sarcophagus: Bellerophon



229. London, Vict. and Alb. Mus.
Ivory: Dionysus



230. Cividale, Mus. Arch.
Ivory: Maenad



231. Formerly Vienna, Mus. Ivory: Maenads



232. London, Vict. and Alb. Mus. Ivory: Maenads



233. Paris, Louvre.
Ivory: Dionysus





234-235. Athens. Lysicrates monument:
Satyrs



236. New York, Met. Mus. Ivory: Satyr



237. Palermo, Cap. Pal. Ivory: Satyr



238. HALLESCHES HEILTUM. Drawing: Ariadne



239. AVENCHES. Mosaic: Ariadne



240. FLORENCE, MUS. NAZ. Ivory: Centaur



241. LIVERPOOL, MUS. Ivory: Centaur







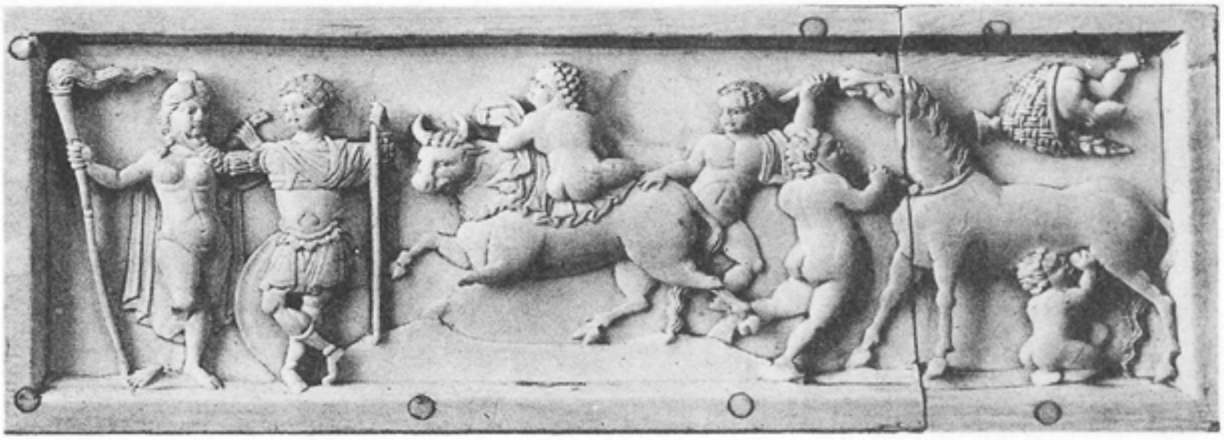
242-244. NEW YORK, MET. MUS. Ivory: Dionysian Fighters



245. CORTONA, CATHEDRAL. Sarcophagus: Triumph of Dionysus



246. LONDON, VICT. AND ALB. MUS. Ivory: Europa



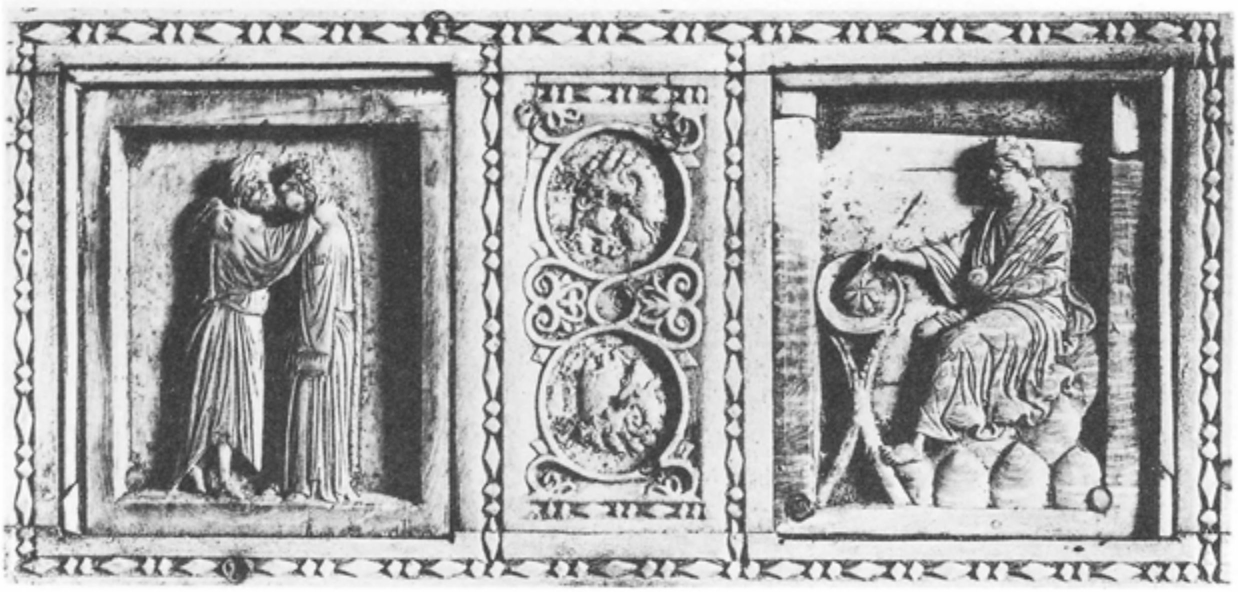
247. LONDON, VICT. AND ALB. MUS. Ivory: Europa



248. ROME. Fresco: Europa



249. ROME, GALL. BARBERINI. Mosaic: Europa



250. La Cava, Badia. Ivory: Alexander Romance



251. Oxford, Bodl. Cod. Barocci 17.
Fol. 1ᵛ: Nectanebus



252. Venice, San Lazzaro. Cod. 424.
p. 4: Nectanebus



253. Vienna, Mekhith. Monast. Cod. 319
Fol. 32ᵛ: Philip and Olympias